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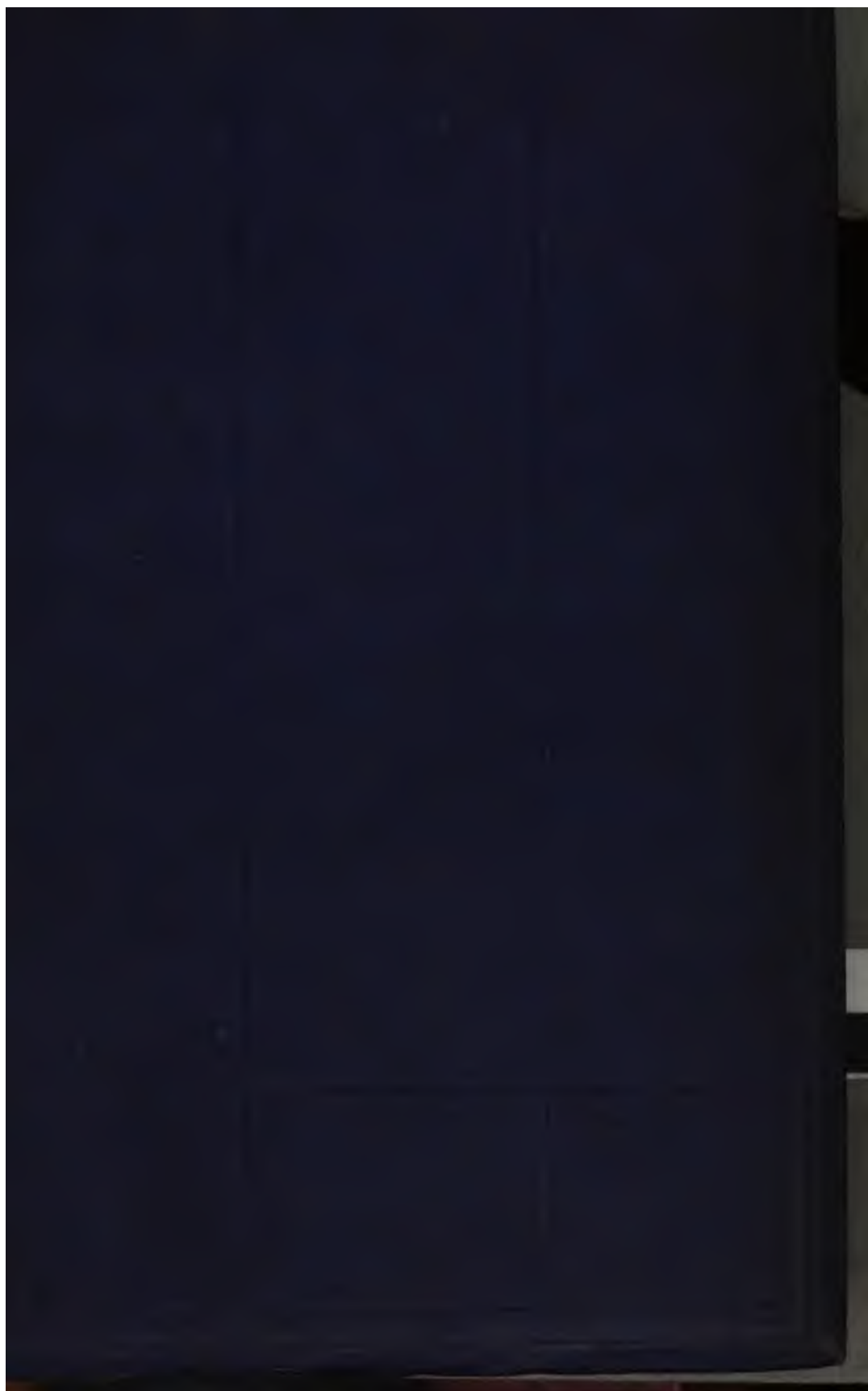
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# HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION.



# HISTORY

OF THE

## INQUISITION,

IN EVERY COUNTRY WHERE ITS TRIBUNALS HAVE BEEN  
ESTABLISHED,

FROM THE TWELFTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY  
WILLIAM HARRIS RULE, D.D.

Μεθίσκοντα ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ.



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## PREFACE.

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THE author of this volume has endeavoured to write no more than is necessary for the accomplishment of his object. That object is to lay before the English reader a clear account of the Inquisition, free from error, and without exaggeration; for on such a subject even the least exaggeration would be worse than superfluous.

The sources of information are duly stated; and as, happily, there never was an English Inquisition, not even in the worst of times before the Reformation, those sources are almost all foreign, except where the sufferers were English. In which case the information was sometimes received in this country through English channels. With extremely few exceptions, the authorities are found within the Church of Rome, and sometimes they are even the Inquisitors themselves. Every statement, for example, of laws and customs has been directly taken from Eymeric and his continuator, or from original manuals and instructions. The very words of the original documents have often been preferred to any others, except so far as other statements were necessary to the history. Many harrowing narratives might have been repeated that are entirely omitted because they are not satisfactorily authenticated, or bear internal marks of imperfect information. Many deeds of darkness are passed over in silence, because it is a shame even to speak of many things that were done in secret; and to lay bare the immoralities of Inquisitors and Confessors is, to say the least, an

offence against public decency that cannot be too steadily discouraged.

The reader will not find more than what is promised in the title-page. Not persecution in general, not the administration of Canon Law in cases of heresy by prelates or ecclesiastical courts, but the acts of Inquisitors only. It must be remembered that while all churches that have lost the Spirit of Christ are given to persecute, no church on earth except the Church of Rome has ever had a separate institution for the inquest and punishment of heresy, with a peculiar code of laws and appointed courts, judges, and officers. This, and this only, is the INQUISITION.

By observing the chronological order of events, and by separately treating the Inquisitions of France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, with the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in America and India; and marking Rome as the central seat of inquisitorial administration; the progress, the policy, and the decline of this institution appears on the very surface of the narrative without any necessity for extraneous disquisition; while its history and decay in each country tends to confirm and illustrate the like history in the others, adding to the distinctness and heightening the variety of the whole picture.

In spite of all efforts to impart uniformity to the practice of the several courts, according to the standard first laid down by Eymeric, and then recognised by the "Supreme and Universal Roman Inquisition," the distinctive character of the several courts has ever proved unconquerable. The Italian Inquisitor was refined and statesmanlike, rather sympathizing with Loyola than with Torquemada, conceding much to Venice, revelling in merciless cruelty in Rome without much observation from without, and therefore with little scandal, and almost without passion, except perhaps in Naples, and now and then in any Italian state that made resistance, where he would

make a precipitate retreat, to await the time for a sure and terrible return. Throughout all Italy the Court of Rome adapted its general policy to the condition of the several States, which it kept as much divided as possible from each other, that it might the more easily hold them in subjection to itself. The Inquisition of the Cardinals did not so rudely confiscate. Their Eminences were more far-seeing and commercial. They would not so readily annihilate a family by confiscation and infamy; but they would make more out of it by fining the survivors of their victims, and even lay their successors under a perpetual tax. The Spaniard, on the contrary, was hot, vengeful, improvident. He was like one of those Babylonian tyrants, who were used to have public furnaces and common dens; and, after casting the offenders into the dens, or burning them in the furnaces, would make their houses dunghills, and blot out their names. The Portuguese was a Spaniard very deeply vulgarized. He could not be more cruel, but he was more disgustingly brutal in his cruelty. Not content to burn his heretic out of the way, he preferred to roast him for hours over a slow fire, that he might treat himself and the public with a sight of long-protracted human anguish in its several degrees of horror. The Indo-Portuguese was not less inhuman, but more self-indulgent. The heat of India would not suffer him to wait at the spectacle too long, and therefore the heretic was put to death more quickly. He had the military pride and the languid haughtiness of a colonial official, in a but slightly responsible position. In South America the offices were in the hands of loose and low-minded individuals, who could not carry on their operations permanently on a grand scale, because they had not sufficient strength of character to keep their secret perfectly, or even to enforce their prison-discipline; nor had the magistrates power to put down the rising vengeance of the irritated colonists. Everywhere the national spirit, whether



for better or worse, imparted character to the Inquisition, until, in process of time, Inquisitors, like other men, gave way to the progress of national feeling. So in Spain : long before the Tribunals fell, there were humane and enlightened Inquisitors who shut their eyes and stopped their ears against malevolent informers ; and a Villanueva, while nominally a qualificator of the Holy Office, on being appointed to expurgate and suppress good books, would stand forth as a learned and eloquent advocate of translating the Holy Scriptures into languages that all the world might read. Llorente, too, Secretary of the Inquisition in Madrid, was studying the archives of the Metropolitan and Provincial Courts, and in due time gave the freest utterance to his abomination of the office he filled, in that great work which has contributed largely to our chapters on Spain.

Two great forces have now grown up together for the overthrow of the Inquisition. One is civil freedom ; the other is nationality. The ascendancy of the former, promoted as it is, and guided as it ever must be, by true and living Christianity, incapacitates men from lending themselves to be accomplices in a perpetual outrage on human nature. The rapid revival of the latter leads to the repudiation of an ecclesiastical system that has for ages trampled upon all social rights. National interests gain a strength before which alien pretenders must give way. The intrusion of a foreign jurisdiction rapidly becomes impossible. Apart from all the infallible assurances of prophecy, and all our certain hopes of the eventual triumph of Christianity over the whole world, we must observe that the recent redistribution of European territory places every state in a new relative position ; and of all other results the most important to Christendom is this, that the Court of Rome and Inquisition of the Cardinals, isolated, impoverished, and despised, are left far in the rear of all progress of religion and humanity. We have traced the birth, the growth, and the decrepitude of all the Inquisitions. Now we have seen

the actual dissolution of all but one. That one is not yet quite extinct ; but it would be as easy for the oldest living man to recover the freshness of his youth as for the Roman Inquisition to rise from its death-bed and range over the world again. It may live, indeed ; I know not whether it be alive or dead just now ; but if alive, it can only be with that lingering existence that is more like death than life.

Therefore the tale is told,—the history of the Inquisition is written. Some one, of more leisure, greater patience, and a disposition for more voluminous labour, may produce a larger book ; but the *Autos* are all over, the dungeons are all burst open, the generations that would suffer a repetition of such atrocities are all gone, and the time has come when one may fairly say that the history of the Inquisition *is written*. The present author humbly thanks God, who has spared him long enough to write it.

W. H. R.

PLYMOUTH, *June 1st*, 1868.



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# HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

THE beginnings of the Inquisition may be traced with sufficient clearness in the records of the twelfth century; but the precedents and legal sanctions of judicial persecution were established long before. The first imperial patron of Christians, Constantine the Great, cannot be fairly described as a persecutor, but rather as benevolent and liberal; yet, educated in heathenism, he thought it quite right to employ repressive measures for the extinction of idolatry, measures which the pagans complained of as unjust, but could not regard as cruel in comparison with the ancient hostilities waged against each other by the votaries of hostile gods. Constantine, as a matter of course, discouraged freedom of utterance, where such freedom seemed inexpedient, and denied liberty of worship to idolaters and heretics. His Edicts, or Constitutions, became part of the Civil Law of Christian Europe. No fewer than seventy-two such laws, made by Constantine and his successors, against controversialists and heretics, with many more against Jews, Samaritans, and Pagans, may be found in the Theodosian Code,\* and show how diversities of religious opinion were to be prevented, and the teachers crushed. Confiscation, banishment, death, were the penalties to be inflicted for breach of what Romanists are pleased to call "Catholic unity."

\* *Codex Theodosianus, cum perpetuis Commentariis Jacobi Gothofredi.* The copious annotations of Gothofredus on those portions of the Code which relate to heretics, magicians, pagans, &c., are in themselves a history of the legal persecutions carried on by Christian Emperors, from Constantine in 326 to Theodosius the Younger in 435.

But it is not my present purpose to write a general history of persecuting legislation. Our attention must be confined to the Inquisition alone, in its institution, progress, and decline. But one word yet remains to be written, namely, *extinction*; and how nearly that is come, the latter pages of this book will tell. We survey the foundation of this institution first of all.

Pope Alexander III., elected in the year 1159, but soon after his election driven from Rome by the anti-Pope Octavian, has come by sea to France. Henry II. of England, who is in Normandy, and Louis VII. of France, hearing of his arrival, both hasten to give him welcome, and lead him in state on horseback through the town of Conci on the Loire; one monarch walking humbly on either side, and each holding the bridle. Thomas Becket will soon be there also. He has just been made Archbishop of Canterbury; and is, as yet, on good terms with the King his master. It is two or three years since some confessors of Christ were the first to suffer death for His sake in England, at the hands of men called Christians;\* and about sixteen years ago Bernard—now *sainted* for his services—first came into Languedoc, to lead a crusade against the Albigenses. The King of England has meekly kissed the Pope's foot; and, not presuming to occupy a chair in his presence, has sat down with his barons on the floor, in the abbey of Bourc-Dieu. Thus abject are Englishmen in the twelfth century.

There has been a great religious awakening in the provinces which we now call the South of France and North of Spain; and although Alexander has enough to do in defending himself against his competitor, whom the Emperor of Germany, with almost all Italy, supports, he thinks it expedient to keep up the rage of zeal against heretics, as they are called; and, to do this most effectually, convenes the clergy and menaces the laity.

One of his first acts, in conjunction with the French prelates, is to declare that every secular prince who does not employ his power for the punishment of heretics caught within his jurisdiction, shall be considered as himself a

\* Guil. Neubrigensis, lib. ii., cap. 13.

heretic, and, together with them, shall be bound under a curse.\* Then he calls a Council, to be holden at Tours, on the 29th day of May, 1163.

On the day appointed, seventeen cardinals, a hundred and twenty-four bishops, four hundred and fourteen abbots, and a great multitude of priests and laity, assemble in the church of St. Maurice, with their own pontiff at their head. The clergy are chiefly French and English,—since only these two nations unanimously acknowledge Alexander to be their Pope,—with a very few from Italy. Arnoul, Bishop of Lisieux, at his command, delivers a sermon concerning the several interests of the Church, smooth and plausible, and with scarcely any reference to the persons who are intended to be her victims. Forthwith begins the business of the Council. Thomas, the martyr of Canterbury, as the Romanists now call him, comes to Tours, and is received by the cardinals in procession, which is an unusual honour. He forthwith takes part in the deliberations of the Council, but leaves before its close, being much occupied in the affairs of his new dignity in England. Still his heart was with the Council; and whether he was present or not when the following decree was voted, the English priests were; and it is undoubted that both he and they heartily concurred therein. The sentences are worthy to be recited, insomuch as that was the first solemn act of the Church of Rome that can be correctly called *inquisitorial*.†

“A damnable heresy has broken out of late in the parts of

\* *Concilium Mompeliense*, A.D. 1162.

† When we say *inquisitorial*, we speak with reference to the peculiar forms, rather than to the principles, of the Inquisition. The flames of persecution had been burning fiercely for more than six centuries before the Council of Tours, and reputed heretics were most cruelly hunted down, but had not yet been made the subjects of secret judicial inquest. Soldiers were employed to extirpate heresy with fire and sword, and magistrates enforced the laws of Justinian and his successors, or other laws like them, in open court; but a secret ecclesiastical court, with tonsured judges, was as yet unknown. Therefore the historian must carefully distinguish between persecution in general, and that particular method of persecution which is now known under the name of “inquisition;” and by preserving the distinction in this volume, many flagrant persecutions will be passed over without notice. Their history must be sought elsewhere.



Toulouse, spreading itself by degrees, like a cancer, into the neighbouring places, and now infects great numbers in Gascony and other provinces." Then, after descanting on the insidious and destructive character of the new heresy, the fathers proceed to say, "Wherefore we command the bishops, and all the Lord's priests dwelling in those parts, to keep watch, and under peril of anathema to prohibit that, where followers of that heresy are known, any one in the country shall dare to afford them refuge, or to lend them help. Neither shall there be any dealings with such persons in buying or selling; that, all solace of humanity being utterly lost to them, they may be compelled to forsake the error of their life. And whosoever shall attempt to contravene this order, shall be smitten with anathema as a partaker of their iniquity. But they, if they be taken, shall be thrown into prison by Catholic princes, and be deprived of all their goods. And forasmuch as they frequently assemble together from various parts into one hiding-place, and have no reason why they should be together, except their consent in error, and yet dwell in the same abode, let such conventicles be closely searched; and if the persons be found guilty, let them be restrained with canonical severity." \*

To prohibit was easy, but to disperse the congregations not so easy; and to put faithful preachers to silence was not yet possible. The forbidden doctrines were not only taught in conventicles, but proclaimed from the pulpits; and, to put an end to so grave a scandal, Alexander convoked a multitude of scholastics and others, by courtesy called learned men, to meet him in Paris. Three thousand, or more, as was reported, congregated on Christmas Eve, 1164, to receive the instructions of their chief, who came in state, surrounded by his cardinals, and told them that he had heard of many various opinions in religion being in circulation among the French-born clergy all over the country; wherefore he condemned and interdicted all figurative discourses, and all unlearned questions in theology, and commanded the Bishop of Paris, on his obedience, to suppress all such throughout France.†

\* *Concilium Turonense*, A.D. 1163.

† *Conventus Gallicanus*, A.D. 1164.

All this pre-supposed a power which bishops did not possess; and the idea of an Inquisition, so far as we can see, was not yet suggested. It remained for the clergy to find out the elements of a well-concerted system of procedure, with precautions of defence and secrecy; and this lack of organization they must have sorely felt, when the Bishop of Albi, with several other prelates, undertook to dispute openly with the "good men," or Albigenses, of Narbonne. In the presence of nearly all the inhabitants of Lumbers and Albi, and the surrounding villages, the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Bishops of Toulouse and a neighbouring diocese, several abbots and priors, and an archdeacon, with other priests, and some laymen of rank, the Countess of Toulouse, and other ladies, were interrogated as to their faith. The details of this event are of the highest interest, but they belong to general religious history; and, for our present object, it is enough to state that, after this very solemn publication of forbidden doctrine, the "good men and women" were condemned, and sent away for punishment in the custody of the soldiers of Lumbers, who had brought them to the place of trial.\*

The next General Council was holden at Rome, in the church of the Lateran,—the mother church, as it is called; where Alexander, having so far overcome his antagonist as to be able to return to the seat of government, presided, on a lofty throne, surrounded by the cardinals, prefects, senators, and consuls of the city. In three solemn sessions the affairs of the Papacy were brought under review; many canons were recorded, and, amongst others, one that renewed the regulations of Tours in respect to heretics; named certain sects most obnoxious to the Church; and determined that all who bestowed even the least kindness on sectarians should undergo equal punishment with the sectarians themselves; and that persons *relaxed*, that is to say, informed against as being guilty of heresy, should be outlawed.† We note the word *relaxatos*, "relaxed," because it eventually became established, with a severer meaning, in the jargon of the

\* *Concilium Lumbariense*, A.D. 1176.

† *Concilium Lateranense III.*, A.D. 1179.

“Holy Office;” and we also mark the part now to be taken by informers, whose successors were the “familiaris” of that tribunal. The concurrence of the secular with the ecclesiastical power in this Council gave another weighty precedent for their union in the exercise of inquisitorial jurisdiction.

Lucius III., successor of Alexander, also a wanderer, being driven out of Rome by the Romans, held a Council at Verona, at which the Emperor Frederic I. was present, and therein condemned all heretics, and smote them with a perpetual malediction; including under the fulmination all unlicensed preachers, and all who taught differently from the Church of Rome concerning the eucharist, baptism, remission of sins, and other chief points of doctrine. “And because the severity of ecclesiastical discipline is sometimes despised by those who do not understand its virtue, we ordain,” says the decree, “that they who are manifestly convicted of the aforesaid errors, if they be clerks or religious persons, shall be divested of every order and benefice, and given over to the secular power, to receive suitable punishment: unless the culprit, so soon as he is discovered, shall make abjuration in the hands of the bishop of the place. In like manner, the layman shall be punished by the secular judge, unless he makes an abjuration. They who are only found suspected shall be also punished, unless they can prove their innocence by a suitable purgation; but they who relapse after abjuration or purgation shall be left to the secular judgment, without being heard again. The property of condemned clerks shall be applied, according to law, to the churches that they served. This excommunication against heretics shall be renewed by all the bishops on the great solemnities, or when occasion presents itself, under penalty of suspension from their episcopal functions for three years. We add, by the advice of the bishops, and on the representation of the Emperor, and the lords of his court, that every bishop shall visit, once or twice every year, himself, or by his archdeacon, or by other qualified persons, those parts of his diocese where it is commonly reported that heretics are living; and shall swear in three or four men of good character, and even, if he thinks it desirable, all the people of the neighbourhood, binding them, if they can discover where there are any

heretics, or persons who hold private meetings, or that lead a different life from the faithful in general, to denounce such persons to the archbishop or the archdeacon. The bishop or the archdeacon shall then call the accused before him; and if they do not clear themselves, and follow the custom of the country, or if they relapse, they shall be punished by the judgment of the bishops. But if they refuse to swear, they shall at once be judged heretics."\*

Barons, governors, consuls, and all other secular authorities had already been commanded by this Pope to render effectual aid for the detection and punishment of heretics and their accomplices, whenever called upon so to do, under the penalties of excommunication and interdict. "All the abettors of heretics shall be branded with perpetual infamy; and, as such, excluded from being advocates, or witnesses, and from discharging any public functions."†

This almost foreshadows the future institution. Civil and ecclesiastical functionaries have now full instructions for the extirpation of heretics. Various degrees of heresy in persons suspected, convicted, penitent, and relapsed, are marked, and the Church is to be avenged on her rebellious children by a corresponding scale of penalties. Thus, after the Church has spent her spiritual weapons, she leaves the subjects of her displeasure to be more signally punished by the secular arm. This is the theory of inquisitorial administration; and although the tribunal was not yet erected, we may say that in the period of twenty-one years, from the Council of Tours to that of Verona, the general principles were settled. Thenceforth it only awaited the usual process of legislation and experience to reach the horrible perfection of the sixteenth century. No one so greatly accelerated that process as Pope Innocent III.

Our sketch of the preparatory measures that were taken by Popes and Councils in the latter half of the twelfth century, may serve to strengthen the demonstration that the Institution to be described in the following chapters was the natural outgrowth of the very system of sacerdotal policy which it was established in order to maintain. It did not

\* *Concilium Veronense*, A.D. 1184.

† *Lucii III. Epist.*, A.D. 1183.

originate in any single mind. It was not intended to meet a merely local or temporary exigency. No Church but that of Rome ever had an Inquisition.

Before the Roman hierarchy could proceed to exercise an absolute judicial authority over the property, the liberty, and the life of all its subjects, in any part of Christendom, irrespective of character and station, making godliness itself a capital offence, they had many points to gain. After wondrous art and perseverance, they acquired an extensive territory in Italy, and had vast accumulations of landed property in every state of Europe. Not content to hold houses and lands, and gather princely revenues from every possible source for their own enjoyment, under reasonable liabilities, and in constant submission to the laws, they held it all on such a tenure as was not allowed to lay proprietors, even the most highly privileged, assuming *Divine right*. They engaged the civil authorities to support them in undisputed occupation, and punished the magistrate or prince who failed to satisfy their wishes in that respect. Such defaulters were exposed to the dire effects of anathema or interdict, which usually provoked sedition, or rebellion, or war. For themselves, they obtained exemption from the control of law.

At length the *Temporal Power* was established in its terrible extent. The Patrimony of St. Peter, and other Papal states; lands held everywhere in mortmain; asylum; ecclesiastical immunity; Papal supremacy over kings, bishops, clergy, laity of all degrees; an assumption of power on earth to forgive sins or punish the sinners, and power beyond the grave to bind in pain, or to release imprisoned spirits: these were the real possessions and the monstrous claims which constituted a temporal power vast beyond calculation.

Until this power was attained, the Holy Office could not have had a dungeon at command; much less could it have invested an Inquisitor with power to take away one human life. When this power shall be utterly abolished, its effect will cease; but so long as a fragment of it remains, the Inquisition, though its name be changed never so often, will continue its deadly work.

## CHAPTER II.

### POPE INNOCENT III.

THIS Innocent should have been canonized and declared patron saint of Inquisitors; and, if one who knew him gave a true description of his person and qualifications, the artist might take for his picture a comely model. "He was a man of clear understanding and retentive memory; he excelled in divine and human learning, spoke well in common Italian and in Latin, sang songs and psalms well, was of middle stature and commanding aspect. He preserved the mean between prodigality and avarice; but gave away alms and food liberally, although sparing in other respects, except in cases of necessity. Severe towards the rebellious and contumacious, but kind to the humble and devout; brave and constant, magnanimous and astute; a defender of the faith and assailant of heresy; in justice rigid, and in mercy pious; humble in prosperity, and patient in adversity; in temper somewhat irascible, yet easily forgiving." \*

Passing from this very artificial eulogy to the writings of Innocent, we fail to discover any excellence in learning, either human or divine; and certainly his conduct betrays both irascibility and severity. Perhaps Matthew Paris, although moved to indignation by the conduct of this Pope towards England, told no more than the truth, when he described him as "beyond all other men ambitious and proud, an insatiable thirster after money, and ready and apt to commit any sin for a reward, or the promise of it." †

The records of his pontificate attest that he was diligent; but they show that in nothing was he *so* diligent as in persecuting heretics. His eye fixed its searching glance on them in the remotest hiding-places of Europe; and he never failed to use the full advantage of his position to repress the slightest

\* *Gesta Innocentii PP. III.* Opp., tom. i. Mignè, Parisiis, 1855.

† Inserted in Wendover's "Flowers of History," at A.D. 1214.

movement of reason or conscience, when reason or conscience presumed to stir under the absolute despotism of the priesthood. A brief review of his acts is the proper introduction, therefore, to a history of the Inquisition in the several countries where it was by him established in the old world, and in those to which it was afterwards carried in the new.

Scarcely had he announced his election when he unsheathed "the sword of Peter." The Archbishop of Auch, and his brethren the prelates of Gascony and neighbouring provinces, reported that their dioceses were in danger from the zeal of a multitude of preachers who revived ancient errors, as they said, and led astray the simple. To that archbishop, therefore, he sent authority to proceed against the preachers at his own discretion, employing such methods as might be thought most likely to extirpate heresy, and put out of the way all persons tainted with it.\*

After a few days' consideration he formally began the work which the study of eighteen years enabled him to reduce to system. Letters Apostolic, addressed to the Metropolitans of Aix, Narbonne, Vienne, Arles, Ambrun, Terracina, and Lyons, announced the mission of two travelling Inquisitors, the friars Rayner and Guy, invested with plenitude of power "to catch and kill those little foxes, the Waldenses, Cathari and Patarini,—foxes of diverse faces, but with tails tied together by a cord of common heresy, and sent by Satan with fire-brands of destruction into the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts." Rayner, if we may believe his master, was distinguished by learning; and Guy was pre-eminently benevolent. The prelates were strictly charged to receive them with kindness, treat them with affection, and help them to turn heretics from the error of their way, or else to drive them out of the country. All that Friar Rayner might order to be done, with those who were considered the ministers of Satan and their followers, was to be entirely and humbly carried into execution. Princes, counts, and barons were commanded, with promise of remission of sins, to receive the two Friars with equal kindness and devotion; to aid them mightily and manfully in executing vengeance on evil-doers; and, if any heretics would not repent

\* *Regestorum, sive Epistolarum*, lib. i., num. 81, April 1, 1198.

after being admonished to repentance, Rayner was to bind them under sentence of excommunication; and then the princes, counts, or barons were to confiscate their property and banish them; or, if the culprits dared to linger on their native soil after commandment to depart, graver measures were to be taken.\*

Such, however, was the urgency of affairs, that the Pope resolved to commit France to the charity of Guy, while an encyclical informed the prelates and princes of all Poppedom that Rayner, "mighty in word and deed," was gone to serve the Church in Spain.† Further credentials empowered him to exercise the functions of disciplinarian over the Spanish and Portuguese clergy, together with the unlimited jurisdiction of Inquisitor at large; ‡ and to replenish his master's coffers by levying contributions on the sovereigns,—or, at least, on one of them, the King of Portugal.§ Similar powers enabled Brother Rayner also to visit and make inquisition in the churches and monasteries of France, after completing the service which had taken him to Spain, and to exact the active assistance of men in authority.||

To banish heretics from their homes might have been enough for "the head of the Church on earth" to do, but he could not rest satisfied until he had hunted them to death. A large number of Patarini, driven from Italy by the Archbishop of Spoleto, had wandered into Hungary, and found pity at the hands of a barbarian, Culinus, Ban of Bosnia; who not only suffered them to settle among his people, but encouraged them to propagate their doctrines, and to assume the name of Christians. Hearing of this, Innocent caused a Brief, written in the strongest possible terms, to be dispatched to Emeric, King of Hungary. That sovereign was commanded to gird up his loins for action, and royally avenge the insult committed against Christ and Christians by such an assumption of that name. Unless the Ban would instantly despoil the fugitives of any little property they might yet possess, and chase them in utter destitution from his territory, the King was commanded to make war upon Ban and

\* *Regestorum, sive Epistolarum*, lib. i., cap. 94, April 21, 1198.

† *Ibid.*, cap. 165, Maii 13.

‡ *Ibid.*, cap. 395, Nov. 30.

§ *Ibid.*, cap. 449, Dec. 9. || *Ibid.*, lib. ii., capp. 122, 123, Jul. 12 et 7, 1199.



heretics together, and hunt them down, and kill them indiscriminately. Then, with regard to the laws of Hungary, which were not severe enough to answer the present purpose, Innocent instructed the King, as a man of "great prudence and humanity," what penalties ought to be inflicted on heretics of various classes and degrees. Such were the penalties prescribed by law in the States of the Church; "And in other states," said the arrogant Pope-King, "*we have commanded the same to be executed by secular powers and princes; but, if they refuse so to do, we have commanded that they be compelled by ecclesiastical severity.*" \* We do not find, however, that Emeric condescended to obey the Bishop of Rome, or that Hungary or Bosnia received laws which soon became embodied in the code of the rising Inquisition.

Innocent had instructed the Archbishop of Syracuse to punish the Saracens in Sicily who renounced the profession of Christianity forced on them in compulsory baptism by the German conquerors of the island.† Those instructions had some force in Sicily; and perhaps his success there encouraged him to try his hand in Bosnia. But the Holy Office could never be established there; for, even in the dark ages, the power of the Roman See was confined within far narrower limits than its advocates would have us to believe. The Patarini, or "Christians," might therefore have kept their ground in Bosnia, but for the interference of Kalo-John, Emperor or King of the Bulgarians, who had transferred his adherence from the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Pope. To him Innocent sent a special messenger, to effect by intrigue what he had failed to accomplish by threatening. Awed by the significant intervention of the Bulgarian, the leaders of the Patarini, with the Ban, their patron, signed an engagement to set up altars and crosses in their churches, and submit their own ecclesiastical appointments to confirmation and control at Rome.‡

We find an angry missive, rebuking Alonzo, King of Cas-

\* *Regestorum, sive Epistolarum*, lib. iii., num. 3, October 14, 1200. The scribes in the Lateran named the King of Hungary Hemmerad. Bonfinius, a better authority, calls him Emeric.

† *Ibid.*, lib. i., num. 509, Jan. 5, 1199.

‡ *Ibid.*, lib. vi., numm. 140-144, Maii, 1203.

tile, for some acts of kindness he had done to Jews and Saracens under his government.\* Another letter conveys to Pedro, King of Aragon, the power of possessing "lawfully" whatever land he can take away from heretics, forasmuch as all such land is by right the property of the Church, heresy having destroyed the title pretended by its occupants.†

Philip of France, and others in that kingdom, are commanded to repress the *insolence* of the Jews; ‡ that is to say, to destroy them on the credit of vulgar calumnies. Pedro of Aragon, having done what he was desired to do, is rewarded with the moveable property of the victims, as well as their lands; but, in apprehension of a rebellion in consequence, he gets also a castle belonging to the Church, for the better prosecution of a "war" which he is to wage upon his own persecuted subjects. So extensively had the proscribed religion spread in Spain, that nothing less than military force could put it down.§ In like manner, the King and nobles of France, under authority of a Brief, received the entire property of the Albigenses whom they had destroyed, or driven into exile from Toulouse.|| It does not belong to a historian of the Inquisition to narrate the persecution and humiliation of King John of England by this Pope, and therefore we gladly pass over the documents relating to those shameful transactions.

A contemporary, but anonymous, biographer, who describes what he has witnessed, relates the doings of Innocent in his own territory.¶

"In the tenth year of his pontificate, after celebrating the feast of the Ascension," (June 4th, 1207,) "our Lord Pope left the city," (Rome,) "and came to Viterbo, where the citizens received him with vast joy, glory, and honour. But he forthwith began to take measures for clearing away the filthiness

\* *Regestorum, sive Epistolarum*, lib. viii., num. 50, Maii 5, 1205.

† *Ibid.*, numm. 92, 94, 97, Jun. 16.

‡ *Ibid.*, num. 121, Jul. 15.

§ *Ibid.*, lib. ix., numm. 102, 103, Jun. 9, 1206.

|| *Ibid.*, num. 149, Nov. 17, 1207.

¶ *Gesta Innocentii PP. III. ab Auctore anonymo, sed coetaneo, scripta*, cap. 123, in the first volume of the Works of this pontiff, quoted above.

of the Patarini,\* with which the city of Viterbo was very deeply infected, lest it should be said, to the disgrace of the Church of Rome, that, before her eyes, and within her own patrimony too, she had suffered heretical pravity to exist, and so should be unable to look fairly in the face of those who might say, to her reproach, 'Physician, heal thyself! First cast out the beam from thine own eye, and then thou shalt cast the mote out of thy brother's eye.' The Patarini, however, getting information of his approach, all betook themselves to flight. But he, having summoned the bishop and clergy of the city, caused a narrow search to be made, and an exact account taken of all the harbourers, abettors, defenders, and believers in them: and then, by the *podestà* and consuls, had them all arrested, sworn, and bound under securities to be obedient for the future to all commands laid upon them."

The houses which the Patarini had inhabited he razed to the ground. All their moveable property that could be found he seized; ordering the consuls to make search for whatever they might suppose to be concealed: and bade them, without fearing any penalty for going beyond their powers, to punish, with unlimited discretion, all persons convicted of concealing it.† Then, in a general assembly of clergy and people, he proclaimed a decree to the effect following:—

Every heretic, especially a Patarino, found in the Patrimony of St. Peter, to be seized instantly, and summarily delivered to the secular court to be punished according to law. All his property to be forfeited, and one third given to the person who caught him, another to the court that punished him, and the other to be employed in public works. His house to be demolished, and never built again, but made a dunghill. His friends fined in one-fourth of their property,

\* The Patarini were probably married priests and their followers. They are sometimes confounded with the Waldenses, with whom they sympathized, at least in a conviction of the unlawfulness of compulsory celibacy. Hence the biographer calls their doctrine and conduct *spurecitia*, "filthiness." See "Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont," by Peter Allix, D.D., chap. xiv.

† *Regestorum* lib. x., num. 105.

to be given to the state, for the first offence, and banished for the second. Such persons to have no power of appeal in any cause, nor any right to prosecute; but might be prosecuted by whomsoever chose. No judge, advocate, or notary to serve them, under peril of deprivation from office. The clergy might not minister to them, nor accept their offerings. They were excommunicated with the utmost rigour. The decree was duly registered; and every person holding any civic office was to hear it read once a year, and swear to enforce it rigidly.\*

Thus far Innocent had gone by his own sole and supreme authority; but now he engages his Church to incorporate his decisions in Canon Law; and by so doing the Inquisition, properly so called, was effectually founded as an integral institution of the Church of Rome. The Councils of Tours, the Lateran, and Verona, as quoted above, had passed acts which tended to arm the populace against heretics; but in the year 1209 this Pope had a Council assembled at Avignon, under the presidency of his legates, and added an important chapter to the incipient code of persecution. In it the Council ordains that bishops are to preach more frequently, putting off their great and punishable negligence. It confesses that the obedience of the clergy cannot be counted on, and claims the aid of the secular sword, since the spiritual fails. It commands every bishop to select such of his citizens, counts, castellans, knights, and other parishioners, as he may think fit, and swear them to exterminate all excommunicated heretics. "And that the bishop may be better able to purge out heretical pravity from his diocese, let him bind under oath one priest and two or three laymen of good character, or more, if necessary, in every parish both of town and country, that wherever they find any heretics, or abettors of heresy, or receivers of heretics, they shall forthwith report the same to the bishop himself, and to the consuls of cities, or the lords and bailiffs of places, that they may be punished according to the canonical and legal sanctions, in every case forfeiting their goods. But if the aforesaid consuls and others be negligent or contemptuous in regard to this divine service, when required by the bishop, let their

\* *Regestorum* lib. x., num. 180.

persons be severally excommunicated, and their lands placed under the ban of the Church.”\*

How the bishops were to detect heretics was not said in the decree; but what means they found for this “divine service” soon became apparent, when the rise of a heresy in Paris under the name of Amaury, a student in the Sorbonne, occasioned an application of the new law.

“The report of this heresy having privately reached the ears of Peter, Bishop of Paris, and Friar Guérin, Counsellor of King Philip, they secretly sent for Master Raoul, a clerk of Nemours, and engaged him to make diligent inquest concerning the men of that sect. This Raoul was a clever and cunning person, and soundly Catholic. Being thus commissioned, with inimitable skill he feigned himself a member of the same sect as they to whom he came. They revealed all their secrets to him, confidently believing him to be such; and thus it pleased God that many priests, monks, laymen and women, who had been long concealed, were at length detected, taken, brought to Paris, and, in a Council there assembled, convicted and condemned. They that were in orders were degraded, and the whole delivered over to the court of King Philip, who, as a most Christian and Catholic sovereign; called his apparitors, and bade them burn them all. They were burnt accordingly, outside the gate of Paris at Champeaux.” Ten suffered in the flames; their enemies afterwards testifying that they were eminent for honesty and gravity of life. Other four suffered perpetual imprisonment.†

Innocent advanced another step in the Fourth Council of the Lateran, over which he presided in 1215. The objects of this Council, which consisted of four hundred and twelve bishops, were to correct bad manners, condemn heretics, and stir up princes and populations to a crusade. As to the first object, it was never prosecuted in earnest. The third was compassed in the sixth crusade under Honorius III. The second had been already made sure. The Count of Toulouse was conquered, the followers of Amaury were burnt alive, and this Council could proceed with entire

\* *Concil. Avenionense*, A.D. 1209.

† *Concil. Parisiense*, adv. *Amalrici Hæresin*, A.D. 1209.

confidence of success to lay down regulations for the extinction of heresy. Its provisions were as follows :—

Every heretic rebelling against the “holy Catholic and orthodox faith,” as accepted by the fathers assembled in the church of St. John, is excommunicated and accursed. No heretical denomination is exempt; for those foxes, although dissimilar in face, are tied together by the tails, and agree in vanity.

“But when condemned, *the secular powers being present*, or their bailiffs, to them they are left to be punished after due sentence, the clerics being previously degraded from their orders. If laymen, their property is confiscated; if clergymen, it shall be given to their respective churches.

“*Persons marked with suspicion only*, unless they can clear themselves, are to be smitten with the sword of anathema, and shunned by every one. *If then they persist for a year in excommunication, they shall be condemned as heretics.*”

“Secular powers must be moved and induced, or, if need be, compelled by ecclesiastical censure, to make public oath for the defence of the faith, as they themselves desire to be faithful, promising to labour with all their might to root out of their dominions all whom the Church has denounced as heretics.”

The temporal lord who, after a single admonition by the Church, neglects to purge his land from heretical defilement, is to be bound under anathema by the Metropolitan and other bishops. If he is pertinacious for one year, his subjects are released from their allegiance, and his territories shall be occupied by Catholics, that these may sweep off the heretics, and purify the faith.

In this Council the penalty of *infamy* is denounced on all who resist its decisions, with incapacity for holding any public office, or exercising electoral rights, or bequeathing property, or having successors to their estates. In distress, none are to show them any charity; after death, none shall give their corpses Christian burial.

Every archbishop or bishop must visit his “parish” once in the year, make inquisition for heretics and conventicles, summon all suspected persons, whom, if they

cannot clear themselves, or if they relapse after canonical purgation, they shall canonically punish. All this, the bishops are to do, under peril of deprivation if they do it not: in which case they shall be themselves condemned for heresy.\*

This completes the canonical establishment of an Inquisition. The tribunal of the Holy Office is not yet constituted; but the Fourth Council of the Lateran made all Romish bishops Inquisitors by virtue of their office, and such they continue so long as they remain in communion with the Papacy. We have also to note and to remember that the Inquisition was not the work of Theodosius, or Innocent, or Dominic, or the College of Cardinals; but that it grew up spontaneously within the bosom of the Papacy, to which systematic persecution is as necessary for life as the soul is necessary to the body; and that a separate tribunal would never be required, if the work to be done were left in the hands of men but commonly humane.

Hitherto the bishops had been held responsible, as guardians of the faith, and required to make inquisition of heresy; but a humane or perhaps an aged bishop could not incessantly endure the groans of dying heretics, nor every day dip his hands in blood. The aged priest, although a dotard in bigotry, might not have either strength or courage to brave the dangers of so rude a service. The ruler of one diocese might be as gentle therein as his neighbour was severe in the government of the next; and the inequality of their administration would detract from the authority of discipline. Besides this, in the provinces of Popedom there was a prevalent persuasion that bishops held the crozier by a Divine right, and that they ought not to be required to coerce and slay their flocks at the pleasure of a distant and overbearing chief. Then, again, it became evident that so great a work as the extirpation of heresy could never be done effectually, even by the most willing servants, unless there were some one administrative power, having oversight of all. It was not considered enough that each Episcopal Court should take cognizance of heresy, and that every magistrate

\* *Concil. Lateranense IV. A.D. 1215.*

should be at the beck of his bishop, to burn as many culprits as he should be pleased to condemn. It was found that in the numberless imprisonments, trials, and executions now occurring, there was more than enough work provided for a distinct ecclesiastical department. Popular concurrence, however, was no less needed than popular submission. Some one was wanted to inflame the public mind against the destined victims of the Church.

It is moreover evident that whereas the Canon Law, with all its defects, was framed with some regard to recognised principles of justice, and with a steady view to the protection of the clergy, and Episcopal Courts established for the administration of that law, some very different Code had to be framed, and some very different Court erected, when the main object was to enable those very priests to destroy heretics without any restraint of justice or humanity. Such a Code was nearly complete, and the Court to be erected was nearly perfect in design.



## CHAPTER III.

## DOMINIC AND THE DOMINICANS.

POPE INNOCENT III. had already sent two emissaries into the south of France, to represent his plenary authority in the dioceses where Albigenses and Waldenses were numerous; and, as we have seen, he required every one, bishop, priest, or layman, to assist in the horrible service, under peril of ruin in this world, and damnation in the world to come. The two envoys were Cistercian monks, Brother Rainer, and Brother Guy; but the order of St. Bernard was not sufficiently savage to furnish chief janizaries to the Sultan of the West, and there is not much to be said of their operations. A few years after, others were appointed, who did their utmost to quicken the zeal of the multitudes against the Albigenses and Waldenses of Aquitaine, Narbonne, and other provinces: but while the eloquence of their sermons drew some applause, their cruelties provoked indignation; and at length one of them, Peter of Castelnau, was killed by a soldier in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, and Innocent declared him a martyr.

The crusade against heretics now raged more fiercely. Simon of Montfort laid waste the county of Toulouse. Cities were besieged, stormed, and sacked. Hundreds of martyrs had been already cut to pieces, or burnt upon the field of slaughter; but it was evident that relays of volunteer troops would not be always forthcoming; and the point was nearly reached, beyond which princes and nobles would not be carried, in murdering their subjects and impoverishing their domains, merely to satisfy the vengeance of the Church.

Foulques, Bishop of Toulouse, came from amidst the ruins of his desolated diocese, to make his appearance at Rome, in the Council of the Lateran, mentioned in the last chapter, and brought with him a devoted zealot, a Spaniard, about

forty-five years of age, named Domingo de Guzman, historically known as St. Dominic. His mother, Juana, had dreamt that she was delivered of a dog, carrying a brand in its mouth, to set the world on fire. The boy turned out in accordance with her dream. He made rapid proficiency in the school of Palencia, then one of the best in Europe, became a priest, soon got preferment, was chosen by his diocesan, the Bishop of Osma, to accompany him on an inquisitorial expedition into France, and there signalized himself by great address in dealing with heretics. They say that he converted some of them by means of an argument against heretical doctrine written on paper—prepared chemically, of course—that would not burn, although put three times into the fire, his favourite element.

At Toulouse, the scene of that achievement, he had conceived the design of forming a new order of preachers against heresy; a sermon being, in those days, the approved preliminary to a burning, as we shall shortly see; and one of his adherents, Pierre Cellan, gave him some houses, to serve himself and his companions for an endowment, and for the first cells. Domingo was himself a very eloquent and persuasive preacher; and Innocent III., although he had engaged the Council to decree that no new monastic orders should be established, but that the old ones should be reformed, perceiving his great ability, gave him permission to prepare a set of rules. "The oracle" had spoken otherwise in the Lateran; but in the Vatican he pronounced otherwise again; yet prudently saved his mutability from general observation by refraining from the publication of a Bull.

Fray Domingo, thus encouraged, proceeded to establish his fraternity; obtained a church in Toulouse, in addition to the cells; and, on the accession of a new Pope in the year following, applied to him for full authority to rule his brethren. Honorius III., favourable to a scheme of so much importance to the Papacy, received the application graciously. This son of a dreaming mother, when at the pontiff's feet, related a vision of his own which had occurred since his arrival at the thresholds of the Apostles. He said that, one night, when praying in a church, he saw our Lord angry, holding with uplifted hand three javelins to be launched against

sinners; one to destroy the proud, another the avaricious, and a third the voluptuous. The holy mother, he declared, embraced the feet of her Son, imploring mercy on them all; and the Son acknowledged that her intercession had appeased his wrath, and said that He had two faithful servants there, whom he would introduce to her. One was Dominic himself; and the other was Francis, afterwards famous as founder of the rival order of the Franciscans, a man whom Dominic did not then know, but met in the church next morning. Honorius was not displeased with the tale, uttered some words of approbation, and granted Dominic two Bulls,—one declaring that he and his brethren were champions of the faith and true lights of the world, and the other empowering them to possess property and perform their intended functions. Not to contradict the Council which prohibited the creation of new monastic orders, he called them canons regular. The Bulls were dated September 12th, 1217.

At this time Dominic somewhat resembled a general without an army. He was commissioned to be a champion of the faith, and all the members of his community were to be champions of the same; but as yet he had not a troop of familiars, nor any fixed tribunal before which he might summon suspected persons. However, he determined to begin his work without loss of time. On the same day, making a speech to some who came with the usual congratulations, he told them that the Pope had conferred on him a new office; and assured them that he was resolved to defend the faith manfully; and that if spiritual and ecclesiastical weapons were not sufficient, he had made up his mind to call the secular power to his aid, and to incite and impel "Catholic princes" to take up arms against heretics, that their memory might be utterly blotted out. From that time he sent out preachers, whose business it was to rouse the populace; fervent bigots, who received repeated assurances of protection from the Pope, and were doubtless worthy to be called Inquisitors.

Meanwhile Dominic laboured for the organization of a system enlarged by affiliated brotherhoods. The original system of Dominicans being, in ecclesiastical language, a *first* order, having founded a *second* order, of women, uneasy

sisters, who soon dispersed, he raised a *third*, called THE MILITIA OF CHRIST, to fight as crusaders against heretics. These were all gentlemen, wearing a handsome court-dress, sword included, and were chiefly married men. They were bound by oath to use the sword against heresy when required. Their wives were sworn to help them to discover heretics, and assist them in every way possible in the holy warfare. The ladies, too, had their dress, which might be varied in pattern, but must always be of black and white, with no other colour, and so contrived that both the black and the white were always visible. These military brethren and sisters assisted the Dominicans of the first order in searching out heresy; and because attached to that "family," yet not subject to its rule, they were called *familiars*, a name used afterwards in relation to the Inquisition, almost exclusively.

Honorius III. gave these familiars also his formal approbation; and we find them active in Italy in the year 1224. But not only in Italy. For in this year the Emperor Frederic II., in a decree published at Padua, speaks of them as "Inquisitors whom the Apostolic See had appointed in any part of the empire." "And we declare," said he, "that the friars preachers and the friars minors, deputed in our empire for the affair of faith against heretics, are under our special protection."

The King of France, *Saint Louis*, followed the example of the Emperor, appending his royal signature in the month of April, 1228, in Paris, to certain statutes for the liberty of the Church, one of which lays the foundation of a revenue for the establishment soon to be organized. It reads thus: "For because they are to be honoured and encouraged to do their duty who solicitously exercise their diligence for finding and taking heretics; we determine, will, and command that our bailiffs in whose bailiwicks heretics are taken, shall pay for each heretic, after he is convicted, two marks to whomsoever took him alive, if it was within half a year, or one mark, if it was later." \*

The reader shall not be wearied with tracking the fierce

\* *Statuta Dom. Ludovici Regis*, A.D. 1228.

Dominicans in their inquisitorial itinerancy. Neither shall we transcribe, nor even enumerate, the chapters of Council after Council, and the Papal Briefs which were issued to instruct them in regard to their vocation, to give sanction to their proceedings, or to exact the concurrence of the civil power with their violence. It is enough to say that the Provincials of the Dominicans were gradually invested with an authority closely resembling that of the Inquisitors-General in later times; and that their operations extended just so far as the Papal power could prevail. Happily for Germany, frequent misunderstanding, or open conflicts, between the Popes and the Emperors hindered the progress of Inquisitors in the German states; but they found entire support in France and Spain, and in most of the Italian states. Even the republic of Venice received these Papal delegates; but insisted on associating Venetian magistrates with them in every case; and gained the point, much to the Inquisitors' annoyance. When the objects of their vigilance escaped to other countries, they pursued them into every accessible retreat. Refugees in the island of Sardinia, for example, found themselves beset with the emissaries of Dominic from Rome. These emissaries even established themselves in the remote region of Servia; and in Asia, as if to crown the opprobrium of their spurious Christianity, they prowled about in the territories occupied by the Crusaders in Palestine and Syria, endeavouring to preserve the godless garrisons, not from sin, indeed, but from influences unfavourable to the priesthood.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE INQUISITION OF TOULOUSE.

THE Holy Office was not yet erected, but the ground was cleared; the clergy, especially the Dominicans, were busily laying the foundations; and the pontificate of Gregory IX. was to be distinguished by a visible advancement of the fabric.

At Toulouse, a city conquered by the crusaders, where the last Count had preserved his title, with a shadow of power, by abandoning the faith of his ancestors, a Council was holden in the year 1229; and although its chapters generally resemble those of previous assemblies of the kind, there is a specialty of character in them which indicates the nearer approach of a settled Inquisition. It was again decreed, in substance, that the bishops should appoint a priest, and two or three laymen of good repute, in every parish, whom they should swear to frequently seek out heretics narrowly, in houses, in caverns, and in all places where they might be concealed; and, after taking care that none should escape, give immediate notice to the bishop, or to the lord of the place, or to the lord's bailiff. The lords were required to make search in villages, houses, woods, or other hiding-places; and if any lord was known to allow a heretic to take refuge on his domain, he should himself be punished.

Negligent bailiffs were to be punished, and houses wherein the guilty had found shelter were to be pulled down. Yet none should suffer as a heretic, until condemned by the bishop, or by an ecclesiastic having authority to act. Any person might take a heretic into custody. Converted heretics, even when reconciled to the Church, were not to live in a village suspected of heresy; "and to show that they detest their former error, they shall wear two crosses, of a

different colour from their dress, one on the right, the other on the left, breast." But such persons were never admissible to any public office, except by dispensation of the Pope. Persons converted against their will were to be kept in perpetual imprisonment. There was to be an exact list of all the inhabitants in every parish. Every male person over fourteen years of age, and every female over twelve, were to swear to the bishop, or his delegate, that they utterly renounced heresy, held the Catholic faith, and would persecute and denounce heretics. All who refused thus to swear were to be suspected of heresy; and so would all be who failed to confess and to communicate three times every year.

At this Council of Toulouse, *for the first time* since the name of Christ was known, the laity were forbidden to read the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. An aged person might possess a Latin Psalter, a Breviary, or the Hours of the Virgin; "but," said the fathers of the Council, "we most strictly forbid them to have the above-said books translated into a vulgar tongue."

A keen eye might detect a precedent for establishing *the Secret* which became the very soul of inquisitorial success, in the fact that when the legate returned to Rome, after holding this Council of Toulouse, he carried with him all the records of inquests made, "lest, if evil-disposed persons should chance to find them, at any time, in that country, it might be the death of witnesses who had given evidence against them."\* The legate felt that he had been doing a deed of darkness, and, naturally enough, fears haunted him, and counselled secrecy.

The military conquest of the county of Toulouse gave a character to the earlier forms of inquest, which continued as long as modern society would suffer. We trace them in the statutes of Raymund, the last count. (A.D. 1233.) Concerning the Albigenses, in the Council of Beziers, about the same time. In the Council of Arles, the year following. In the Council of Narbonne, probably assembled in 1235, for the single purpose of giving instructions to the Dominicans, as Inquisitors of the Faith; and this is the first complete

\* *Concilium Arausicanum*, A.D. 1229.

document of the kind that we can hear of. Such marks of military conquest were the demolition of houses once inhabited by heretics, and the imposition of a particular garb, with a badge, on reconciled heretics. These marks were to signify that the impenitent part of the population was driven away or dead, and that the penitents, like the enslaved remnants of a people conquered by barbarians, were to be known by their attire.

The first pair of Inquisitors (Dominicans) began their work in Toulouse, after several failures, in the year 1234. On that one occasion one of them opened his commission by delivering a sermon from Ecclesiasticus xlvi. :—*Et surrexit Elias propheta, quasi ignis, et verbum ipsius quasi facula ardebat.* Like a man of authority, he unfolded the mystery of the words, pointing to Dominic, of course :—“ And Elijah the prophet arose like fire, and his word was burning like a firebrand.” All through the first week their zeal was gratified by many visits. Some came to abjure heresy, and implore mercy. Others came to inform against their neighbours ; some to proffer their assistance. Many persons were put under penance. Many penitents, however, betrayed impatience. Gradually the people of Toulouse lost all forbearance, rose against the Inquisitors, and drove them out of the city-gate after they had officiated, or endeavoured to officiate, about one year.\*

But others quickly took their place ; and Bzovius produces a letter of Gregory IX. to one of them, Master Peter of the order of Preachers at Pampelona, containing these terrific sentences :—“ Then, as we are bound, by the office laid on us, to remove the stumbling-blocks out of the kingdom of God, and, so far as in us lies, to fight against those beasts, we put into your hand the sword of the Word of God ; and that sword, according to the sentence of the prophet, you must not keep back from blood, but, like Phinehas, inflamed with zeal for the Catholic faith, you must vigorously search for those pestilent people, their followers, harbourers, and defenders, and proceed against those whom, by inquest as above directed, you may find guilty. Act up to the canons

\* Bzovius, A.D. 1235.



and statutes we have issued for the confusion of heretics ; and, if it be necessary, call in the help of the secular arm against them."

As for the secular arm, it waited not for the solicitation of the preaching friars. Count Raymund himself, as if anxious to ingratiate himself with the murderers of his countrymen, signified his desire to make an instant end of all heretical pravity in his dominion. The Pope rejoiced to hear of so pious a desire, gave him a bishop to assist, and it is related of that most unhappy Count, last of his line, that, shortly before his death, he had eighty persons brought into his presence under condemnation on account of heresy, whom he sent away all in a body to the flames.\* The earldom of Toulouse ceased with Raymund, who went to his last account on the 27th day of September of the same year.

At the prayer of the King of France, in the year 1255, Pope Alexander IV. constituted the Provincial of the Dominicans and the Guardian of the Franciscans in Paris Inquisitors-General for all that kingdom. And in the beginning of the fourteenth century we find regular tribunals in full action, with jurisdiction administered by three concurrent authorities,—civil in the magistrates, ordinary ecclesiastical in the bishops, and pontifical in the Inquisitors,—and a rigorous prison-discipline with public infliction of capital punishment. This it is usual to call *the ancient Inquisition*.

Philip the Fair strove to equal his predecessor St. Louis in zealous patronage of the Inquisitors of the Faith, but soon found reason to suspect himself of indiscretion in trusting the instruments of oppression to their hands. Moved by the complaints of his own judges, he issued an order in 1302, requiring the Inquisitors to keep within due bounds, and not infringe on the temporal jurisdiction by burdening his subjects with pecuniary exactions, or otherwise overstepping the limits of the authority with which they were invested. He specially forbade the judges to lend them any aid in proceeding against the Jews for usury,

\* Raynaldus, A.D. 1249.

sortilege, or other offences not properly falling under the cognizance of Inquisitors.\* It is remarkable, however, that this interposition of regal authority tended only to protect the wealthy Jews who traded in money, and left unpitied the poor heretics who could not conciliate the favour of judge or king by such appliances as the usurers could bring to bear on both.

Philip Van Limborch, Professor of Theology among the Dutch Remonstrants, and author of a General History † of the Inquisition, obtained a manuscript taken from the archives of the Inquisition of Toulouse, first established, as we have seen, of all the Inquisitions. The document was a parchment volume, held between two covers, or pieces of wood. On each of these covers was cut the title, L. SENTENTIAE, "Book of Sentences;" that is to say, of sentences passed on culprits. Each record was subscribed in the handwriting of one at least of the four notaries who drew up the original reports, and thus authenticated the fair copies, adding to the signature a seal of office. Limborch gives the *fac-simile* of each seal, and preserves in his reprint of the volume the barbarous orthography of the very low Church Latin of the fourteenth century, in order that every letter of his original may be expressed; merely putting syllables at length, instead of using the abbreviations. His edition is a folio, of the size usually given by the Wetsteins, ‡ of four hundred and twenty pages, with the foliation of the MS. exhibited in the margins. Having carefully examined this very remarkable record of the doings of the first Inquisition, we now endeavour to give an idea of what they were.

What is now called an *Auto-de-Fé*, or Act of Faith, was then called a "General Sermon of Faith;" because the proceedings of each of those *gnol-deliveries* at Toulouse were opened by a sermon; and the same custom was continued down to the latest of them, so long as the burnings could be done in public. The "sentences" which the Inquisitors delivered at fourteen "Sermons" are here preserved, syllable by syllable, as the notaries drew them up. The first is dated

\* Du Cange, *Inquisitores Fidei*.

† *Historia Inquisitionis*. Amstelodami, 1692.

‡ The imprint is, "Amstelodami, apud Henricum Wetstenium, Cl<sup>o</sup>Id<sup>o</sup>XCl<sup>o</sup>II."

on the first Sunday in Lent, 1308,\* and the last on the Sunday below the octaves of the nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary, 1322. The first was holden in the cathedral church of St. Stephen; and for each of the others a church or a market-place was chosen, where a great crowd of spectators might be assembled.

A seneschal, a judge, a sergeant-at-arms, and a civil governor, representing the sovereign, swore on the holy Gospels faith to the Lord Jesus Christ and to the holy Roman Church, promising to defend Christ and the Church with all their might; to pursue and take—if they could—all heretics in belief, with their aiders and abettors, and accuse and present them to the Church and the Inquisitors. They swore, engaging not to give office of any kind to the aforesaid pestilential persons, nor to any reputed to be such, and not to admit the like into their family, their friendship, their service, or their counsel, if they knew it; and if they came to know of having unwittingly harboured any, they would instantly put such away. And then they reiterated the vow of obedience to God, the Church, and the Inquisitors.

A company of “consuls,” or civil magistrates, next approached, and were adjured after the same manner, word for word.

But the archbishop of the province, and the neighbouring bishops, were not well content; for between them and the Roman delegates there had been jealousy from the beginning. It was by dint of negotiation, no doubt, that they obtained an official place at the “sermons,” as something more than mere spectators; and, at length, the archbishop was enabled to exercise his power as such, and authorize *some* of his bishops to be present. They, when prevented by other business, or deterred by humanity, sent “canonical commissaries” to act as advocates of the persons accused, if there was any ground for palliation, or any motive for pity.

The oaths being taken, the two Inquisitors for all the kingdom of France pronounced sentence of excommunication

\* The authenticity of the MS. is tested by the accuracy of the dates. There are two clerical errors which strengthen the proof. For 1308 the scribe wrote 1307, by putting VII. instead of VIII., and by the omission of an I. at the seventh Sermon, he made it 1315 for 1316. We have verified the dates by the help of De Morgan's tables.

against all that had any way hindered or opposed them and their subordinates, either openly or secretly.

The "House of Inquisition" in Toulouse—and by this time there was another such house in Carcassonne, and most probably others elsewhere—was emptied of its inmates, who appeared in companies in the cathedral. They are said, in this Book of Sentences, to have been "brought out of the wall," (*educti de muro*), a phrase which indicates the kind of dungeons wherein they had been literally *immured*,\* models of those which later historians have described in other countries. Some of them were sentenced to wear crosses; and others, by an act of grace, were excused from carrying that badge, yet were to do heavy penance. Take a sentence for each class, as we find it in the book: and *first, of penitents wearing crosses.*

"In the name of the Lord, Amen. We, the aforesaid Inquisitors of heretical pravity," (Brother Bernard Guy, and Brother John de Belna, of the order of Preachers,) "and the Commissary-Delegate of the aforesaid Archbishop of Toulouse, and I, the aforesaid Brother Bernard Guy, by virtue of commission from the reverend fathers and lords in Christ, G—, and R—, and G—, bishops," (the names of the sees are obscure and unimportant,) "in what pertains to them concerning the undermentioned persons of their dioceses." Then follow fifty-seven names, with designations, showing that whole families had been captured by the Inquisitors; and their offences tell that the Gospel had penetrated beyond the Pyrenees into Spain. "These men and women, immured by way of penance for crimes of heretical pravity which they had committed, and in humble obedience to the mandates of us and the Church, having been in the wall now for many years, we, willing mercifully to mitigate their pain and

\* Doors appear to have been thought insufficient for safe custody, and therefore prisoners for heresy were now to be built in. Du Cange (*s.v. Murus*) has an extract from the Council of Toulouse, 1229, already noticed, which provides, in the eleventh chapter *De Hereticis*, that "they be shut up, or built in the wall (*in muro includantur*) with such caution that they may have no power of corrupting others." Philip the Fair, in another extract by Du Cange, (*s.v. Immurare*), distinctly says that the prisons constructed in his dominions for persons detained for the crime of heresy, were commonly called WALLS. We shall see more of this in future chapters of the present volume.

penance, by grace release them from the prison of the wall. But we enjoin on them, all and each, under obligation of the oath they have taken, that, in exchange for the said penance and prison, they henceforth perpetually wear two crosses of yellow felt on every garment except the shirt," (of size prescribed,) "one on the breast, and the other on the back, between the shoulders, without which appearing they must not be seen either within doors or out of doors. If the crosses be torn or worn out, they must be mended or renewed; and as long as these persons live, they must, every year, visit the church of St. Stephen of Toulouse, on the festival of the saint, and the church of St. Saturnine of Toulouse, in the octaves of Easter, and hear high mass and sermon in each. They must also confess thrice every year, before Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and communicate in those festivals, unless they abstain from communion by counsel of their priest. On every Sunday and feast-day they must hear full mass in their parish-church, and a sermon whenever there is one in the parish where they are, unless lawfully excused. They must abstain from work on feast-days, and never bear any public office. They must keep a lenten fast at Advent, refrain from divinations and lots, and take no interest on money. They must also persecute heretics, by what name soever they be called, as well as their believers, abettors, receivers, and all fugitives for heresy. With their utmost power they must honour the Catholic faith, ecclesiastical persons, the rights of churches, and the office of the Inquisition. They must also make pilgrimage, according to directions contained in letters which will be given to them; but which we command them to ask for, and keep, following the directions they will contain. We and ours, and our successors in the office of the Inquisition, retain plenary power to throw the above persons, or any of them, into the aforesaid wall again, even without any new cause, or to increase or diminish, to mitigate or remit, this punishment to any of them, as we, or any of our successors, may think fit."

Sometimes it was thought expedient to impose a dreary penance, quite enough to make life burdensome, but without the yellow crosses. This is designated *arbitrary penance*

*without crosses.* But these penitents at large were, comparatively, a privileged class, reconciled to their Church, restored to her lifeless bosom, hugged in her cold embrace, to be envied by the fellow-prisoners whom they left in the wall.

On Sunday, April 23d, 1812, on the feast of St. George the Martyr, and "for the honour of the holy Roman Church," Bernard Guy and a fellow-Inquisitor, with the usual array of ecclesiastical and civil forces, held a Sermon in the accustomed place. The number of their victims was not unusually large; but we can the more easily count the prisoners this day brought before them, because the notary happened to set down their names with a mark (¶) of separation. Here are men, women, and children, entire families, dragged into their presence, garbed in wretchedness, stricken with despair. An officer of the Holy Office reads over a catalogue of eighty-seven names: "Thou, Raymund Vasco; and thou, Bernarda Wilhelma, formerly wife of such an one; and thou, —; and thou, —; and thou, —;" on to the end. "So gravely and in so many ways have you offended in the damned crime of heresy, as has been read and repeated to you intelligibly in the vulgar tongue; you all being personally before us on this day and in this place, to receive penance, and to hear your definitive sentence peremptorily pronounced upon you; and desiring, as you say, with good heart and unfeigned faith, to return to the unity of the Church; and now again publicly abjuring all heresy, and all favour and belief of heretics of every sect, and all stubbornness, and belief, and rite, and favour of heretical pravity; and promising to keep and defend the orthodox faith, and to persecute heretics, and detect and bring them out wherever you know them to be; and swearing that you will simply and faithfully obey the prescribed mandates of the Church, and ours, for the benefit granted to you of absolution from the excommunication with which, for the said faults, you were bound; if, indeed, you return to the unity of the Church with all your heart, and keep the commandments we have enjoined upon you, the most holy Gospels of God being placed before us, that our judgment may proceed from the presence of God, and that our eyes may see equity."——

The reader is breathless. This protracted sentence ought

to finish kindly. The penitents have much to do. They are now expected to be very active in persecution of their brethren who do not repent. They have promised to render large service to the Church, and will require great readiness of heart to do it all with diligence. They are absolved. Brother Bernard invokes the God of mercy and equity. The ever-blessed Gospel is before Brother Bernard; and perhaps he has somewhere in it read how the Saviour said, "Go in peace, thy sins are forgiven thee." He may have seen in what sort the Father of mercy bestows His most precious gifts on souls that deserve nothing, "and upbraideth not." But, no! hear it out. He finishes in these words: "Sitting at this tribunal, and having the counsel of good men, learned in Civil and Canon Law, we condemn you, by sentence in this writing, to *perpetual prison of the wall, there to perform healthful penance, with bread of grief and water of tribulation.*"

The "benefit of absolution" is not yet exhausted. Three men, one of them aged, and three women, two of them widows, receive sentence thus: "And because you have offended more largely and more gravely, and therefore deserve weightier punishment, we determine that you shall be perpetually shut up *in closer wall and straiter place, in fetters and chains.*" The sentence then draws to its close in the usual form, and ends with a threat of yet sorer punishment on any one who may be found to have suppressed the least fact when under examination.

From these very copious notes of examinations of Waldenses, although notes of that description cannot be regarded as faithful records, much might be extracted to throw light on the domestic habits and ecclesiastical position of that long-persecuted people. At another Sermon we find, amidst many companions in confession and suffering, *Hugo de Cernon*. From childhood he had witnessed the piety of his father, who did not refuse hospitality to the wandering Barbe. The Inquisitors extorted the names of thirteen persons whom he had seen as guests at various times, or had himself entertained after his father's death. He had prayed with them before dinner and after,\* on bended knees, lean-

\* The Inquisitor Eymeric, describing the marks by which Waldenses might be known, after making some incredible accusations of licentiousness, adds

ing on a seat, "according to their manner and rite of praying." He had heard their discourse, received their exhortations, and learned—as they were charged with teaching—that judicial oaths are forbidden in the New Testament. They denied the fable of purgatory. The Inquisitors represent him as saying that he had twice confessed his sins to the Waldenses, and received from them absolution and penance, "although he knew that they were not priests ordained by a bishop of the Roman Church."\*

*Juliana, wife of Vincent Vertelperio*, had been guilty of the same crime of hospitality; for she and her husband had suffered some of their pastors to sleep in their house, and they had joined in family-prayer in the same simple manner. The alleged confessions of this party of Waldenses are so exceedingly alike, that one cannot help regarding them as forced or fabricated answers to a uniform set of questions, with the addition, now and then, of some trifling incident that is noticed because it may serve as an aggravation of the case. *Juliana*, for example, had accepted a needle from one of them, and that is noted down. In another house, the custom of family-prayer, first learnt from a visiter, had been continued. The offence of one man chiefly consisted in carrying money and clothing from some humane persons to Waldenses that were lying in "the wall." For such aggravations of their guilt many, in these fourteen Sermons, were delivered over to the secular arm, and burnt alive.

The case of a priest named *John Phillibert*, even so far as it can be gathered from the Book of Sentences, is remarkable. When officiating in the parish of St. Lawrence, in

what bears a beautiful appearance of truth. "When they take their places at table, they say, 'May He who blessed the five barley-loaves in the wilderness for His disciples, bless this our table!' And when they rise, they repeat that passage of the Revelation, 'Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever! Amen.' They always [say this] raising their hands and eyes towards heaven."—*Directorium Inquisitorum*, p. 441.

\* That they certainly were not; but they were ordained by bishops of their own, true catholic bishops, if faith be the standard of catholicity. The tale of confession is extremely improbable. Allix, in his treatise on the Ancient Churches of Piedmont, demonstrates the dishonesty of inquisitorial reports concerning these good people.



Burgundy, he was chosen, together with another person, to go in search of a fugitive Waldense. Like Saul of Tarsus, he received letters from the chief priest, the Inquisitor of heresy, empowering him to call in help, if help were necessary, to arrest the man, and bring him back. With what success he performed that journey into Gascony, is not stated; but his communication with the persecuted Christians had produced such an effect on him that he went to visit them, not as a familiar of the Inquisition, but as an inquirer after truth and peace. The Waldenses welcomed him into their society. He was introduced into an extensive circle, and visited from house to house, and from town to town. He shared in their hospitality as freely as if he had been a Barbe. He prayed in companies gathered to meet him, and attended in congregations where the word of God was preached. This was, of course, unpardonable in the sight of the Inquisitors, who maintained that the Waldensian ministers were not only heretics, but laymen and schismatics, not having been ordained by any bishop of the Roman Church. They invited him to join their company, which he readily consented to do; for, notwithstanding his knowledge that the Inquisitors persecuted them, he believed them to be good people. But so far were those honest Christians from flattering their convert, that one, Cristino, told him that it would be better for him to be a swine-herd than a priest in mortal sin, singing mass.

The partial defection of a priest could not escape the vigilance of Inquisitors. Like many of his order in those ages, he continued to serve at the altar after he had ceased to believe in the doctrine of the mass; but his conscience, more scrupulous than enlightened, could not submit to a judicial abjuration; and when Brother Guy of Rheims, Inquisitor of heresy in Burgundy, required him on some occasion to swear upon the Gospels, and he refused, and twice repeated the refusal, he was arrested, and placed under observation. Ere long they summoned him to appear before the same Inquisitor, in the Archbishop's palace at Besançon; and, in the presence of ten or twelve witnesses and a notary, he submitted to be sworn, and avowed his correspondence with the Waldensians, and his belief that the Inquisitors, in persecut-

ing them, were sinning against God. What means were employed to overcome his constancy we know not; but he wavered so far as to swear that he renounced the Waldensian sect, and promise that he would help to seize its followers wherever he could find them. Perhaps the dread of scandal, as they would call it, induced the Inquisitors to release him from durance without imposing penance on him, and allow him to return into Gascony, where he again joined the Waldensians, visited their congregations from place to place, ate and drank in their houses, and everywhere united in their secret worship. Often, at night, he listened to their readings of the Gospels and Epistles in the vulgar tongue, followed by earnest expositions and exhortations. Still, pursuing that fatal policy of concealment and consequent equivocation, which so frequently injured the work of God far more than the utmost violence of its enemies ever could, he continued to officiate as a Romish priest. During fourteen years he had thus dissimulated, sometimes elevating the host, and sometimes visiting imprisoned brethren, and conveying food and clothing into their prisons,\* at the hazard of his life.

At length, in October, 1311, he was again arrested in Toulouse, and brought before the Inquisitor. The register of his abjuration at Besançon was produced; and as there could be no mercy for one relapsed, he was finally condemned. This is the sentence:—"Since the Church has nothing more that for thy demerits she can do against thee, We pronounce and declare by these presents that thou, John Phillibert, presbyter, aforesaid, art to be degraded from thy holy orders; and, when degraded, art to be given over to the secular court and judgment; and from that time we hereby leave thee to that court, affectionately praying the same, as the canonical sanctions advise, to preserve thy life and limb unhurt, and allowing thee, if thou wilt worthily repent, the sacrament of penance and the eucharist." From this we may fairly infer that he had not repented; but that at last,

\* The Inquisition had not, as yet, its own dungeons. The common prisons were open to visitors; and on visitors the prisoners chiefly depended for daily food.

as he had so often been exhorted in the discourses of the Waldensians of Gascony, he preferred suffering death to making shipwreck of his conscience. And he was quickly martyred. His diocesan, the Bishop of Auch, had died; so that there was no one empowered to degrade him except the Pope. Pope John XXII., then at Avignon, himself a Frenchman, and formerly bishop in the very province of Toulouse, gladly issued a Bull, authorizing the Archbishop to degrade John Phillibert, and give him over to the secular arm.

On Sunday, June 15th, 1320, the Archbishop proceeded to the cathedral, and, surrounded by a multitude of clergy of all degrees, "zealous for the orthodox faith," and by a greater multitude of laity, had the delinquent presbyter brought from prison, attired in his robes, and set on high in view of all, to hear the records of previous examinations rehearsed, and the Papal warrant of degradation read. While this was done, one Raymund Fish sat by, taking notes of the formalities. The form of degradation, as prescribed by the Metropolitan, was after this manner. The martyr being clad in robes of all the orders, with all sorts of sacred vessels and sacramental symbols placed on the credence, they took a chalice and paten from his hand, to divest him of power to say mass. They stripped him of the sacerdotal stole, to signify that among the Waldenses he had lost the robe of innocence, and, therewith, forfeited the office of the priesthood. With the dalmatic, they removed "the ornament of the diaconate, the garment of gladness, and the vesture of salvation." Taking from his hand a book of the Gospels, they deprived him of "power to read the office in the church of God." The deacon's robe was taken from his shoulders, and with it the power of exercising the functions of the deacon's office; and the instruments of that office, a chalice, paten, pitcher, (*urceolus*,) water, and finger-cloth, were taken from him, to denote that he was prohibited their future use. In like manner the tunic of sub-deacon was removed, showing that, with the ornament of that office, he had lost the use of it unto righteousness and health. From his left arm they took the maniple of the sub-diaconate, and the ministry thereby designated. They made him deliver up the book of

Epistles, out of which he had learned more than it liked them he should know, and thus took away the faculty of reading the Epistles in the church. The instrument with which the acolyth lights candles being snatched away from him, he learned that he should thenceforth have no authority to light them. So with the pitcher, again removed, passed away his authority to mingle water with the sacramental wine. With the book of exorcisms, too, they withdrew the faculty which the Church professes to bestow on her meaner ministers to cast out devils,—a service which their superiors may well be excused from. And his reader's book being taken, his lips were closed from reading in the congregation. Lastly, they took out of his hand the keys of the church, inasmuch as he might not open the church, nor enter it again.

Then, in the name of the Holy Trinity, Raymund Fish declared that he was deposed and degraded from every ecclesiastical order, honour, benefice, and privilege. "And, nevertheless, we pronounce and say to the noble man, Lord Guyard Guy, Seneschal of Toulouse, here present, that he may receive thee, now degraded, into his jurisdiction. Yet we instantly require and pray him that he would so temper his sentence concerning thee, *that thou mayest not be in peril of death, nor suffer mutilation of limb.*" The Presbyter Phillibert had dwindled down, degree by degree, from the superhuman dignity of priest into the vile estate of layman. Yet one vestige of his former dignity remained. The sacerdotal crown was on his head: to destroy this, a barber was employed, whose razor reduced him to entire baldness, and thus he stood before the crowd. Seized by the executioners, he was then dragged out of the cathedral, and thrown into the flames; and we may hope that the truthful boldness of his latter days indicated the presence of the faith that God crowns with glory. But the notary made no note of the victim's words, after they had consigned him to the mercy of Guyard Guy.\*

\* On reference to the Sixth Book of Decretals, title ix., chap. 2, we find that the ceremony of degradation from the priesthood, as it now stands in the Pontifical, was introduced, *together with the Inquisition*, in, or soon before, the year 1302.

Not only did they burn the living, but the dead. In their examinations of the Waldenses and other reputed heretics, they obtained information of many who had died in their fellowship, and then issued formal sentences of condemnation. One such sentence will suffice for all. "Considering that the crime of heresy, because of its vastness and enormity, ought, according to both canonical and civil sanctions, not only to be punished in the living, but also in the dead; having God before our eyes," &c., &c., "we declare and pronounce the aforesaid" (two men and four women) "to have been receivers, believers, helpers, and abettors, when they were alive, of the Waldensian heretics; and that they died without repenting of the crime of Waldensian heresy which they had committed; and we condemn, as such, the said deceased men and women, and their memory. And we command, in sign of perdition, that the bones of the said William and Michael, and of the said women, if they can be distinguished from the bones of the faithful, be extumulated or exhumed from the sacred cemeteries, thrown out thence, and burned." This sentence was passed at Toulouse, in the last of the fourteen Sermons. And the Roman hyenas have ever since employed themselves, on all possible opportunities, in digging for carcasses of heretics. Up to the year 1831, it may be confidently affirmed, the bodies of deceased Protestants in Spain were liable to the grossest outrage, which the populace were instructed to think it became them, as "good Catholics," to perpetrate. A royal decree then made the interment of an English Protestant permissible, where burial-grounds could be purchased and enclosed; but, where that is not the case, there is no assurance that the grave will not be violated.

Assuming universal control, the Inquisition of Toulouse laid its hands on books as well as persons; and we find it stated that on November 28th, 1319, at the requisition and mandate of Bernard Guy, two large waggon-loads of Hebrew books, being as many as could be found in searching the houses of the Jews, were drawn through the streets of Toulouse, with a procession of servants of the royal court, and a crier going before, who proclaimed with a loud voice that the books, said to be copies of the Talmud, contained blasphemies against Christianity, and, having been examined by

persons learned in the language, were to be burnt: and they were burnt accordingly. Gregory IX., a zealous persecutor of Jews, had commanded the Talmud to be burnt, which was done by the Chancellor of Paris in the year 1230, before an assemblage of clergy and people; and, after an interval of thirteen years, there was another solemn burning of the same great work in Paris, and probably in other parts of France, by order of Innocent IV. The works of Raymund Lully, father of oriental learning in Christendom, who gave his life for Christ in Africa, where the Moors stoned him to death, were burnt, by order of Gregory XI., in the year 1376. This was a revival of the old pagan custom of burning the sacred writings; and the allegation that there were blasphemies in the Talmud, and heresies in other books, however true it may have been, was insufficient to justify the method taken to silence, rather than to refute, them. Here, however, we mark the beginning of the literary persecution which has been conducted by the Congregations of the Inquisition and the Index, up to the present time, as earnestly as at their first establishment. The ineffectual persecution can only provoke contempt.

Another incident from this Book of Sentences, and we have done with the Inquisition of Toulouse.

On Sunday, June 28th, 1321, the sound of a trumpet was heard in the market-place of *Castrum de Cordua*, a town in the diocese of Alby. It was to summon the inhabitants to that place, in order to hear a Sermon, or proclamation of the two Inquisitors and their assistants, with the commissary and other representatives of the Bishop, whose letters patent, addressed to the consuls, or magistrates, were there produced and read. The consuls and their councillors hastened to the spot, bringing with them a petition, which was to be read in reply to the Bishop's pastoral, and the sentence of the Inquisitors.

The fact was, that when the Inquisitors had proceeded to exercise their vocation there, and imprisoned some of the inhabitants, the townsfolk turned out in a body, attempted to break into the dungeons, and poured forth volleys of threats on their priestly assailants. The Inquisitors fled in terror from the town, and published an anathema, which

was followed by the fearful consequences of such a sentence, until the people were obliged to sue for mercy. The humble and reverent supplication, therefore, contained a recital of the offence and its penalty, and an offer, on the part of the inhabitants in general, of submission to whatever penance and retribution the Inquisitors might think proper to ordain. Piteously did they pray for absolution and release from the ban laid upon them, promising and swearing devout and perpetual obedience to the Inquisitors and their successors, to perform whatever it might please them to enjoin. The poor people called on the notaries there present to register the vow. The whole multitude of consuls and councillors, men, women, and children, set up a dolorous cry, in token of repentance, and in affirmation of the prayer. Then the Inquisitors and the commissary deigned to accept the supplication, made the magistrates, one by one, swear to fulfil the conditions of pardon, and, holding up a book of the Gospels in sight of the people,—for it seems that they did not yet swear them on a crucifix,—required the whole multitude to raise their hands in abjuration of all purpose to resist the Inquisition. The whole multitude then sang, mournfully, a penitential psalm; and, as the last notes died away, the commissary pronounced a formal absolution of all and each of the “university” of people in that place.

This done, the penance was enjoined. Considering the clemency of holy Church, and the penitential humiliation of both magistrates and people, the guardians of the faith ordained that the town should build a chapel, without prejudice of the parish-church, of a form and magnitude prescribed, and to be well furnished and endowed. It should be intituled with the name of Peter the Martyr,—that Dominican Inquisitor-General who lost his life in the cause of the Inquisition, by the hand of an assassin, between Milan and Como, in the year 1252, and whom the fraternity worship as their peculiar saint,\*—with three others, pictures of all of whom should be placed over the altar, and as many images of them in wood or stone. Outside the building were to be erected three stone statues, one for the Bishop, and one for each of the Inquisitors. The building, its sacred vessels and sacred pictures, with every

\* His name is in the Roman Martyrology at the 29th of April.

ornament and appurtenance, was to be completed on the site chosen, to be of the material and magnitude required, and to be ready at the time appointed, under a heavy fine, which fine would be repeated every two years, until the finishing of the work. Added to this was a heavy tax, levied on the town for the solace of the Bishop and the Inquisitors, and recoverable at their discretion. And to bind them the more surely, a deed, engrossed in readiness, was signed and sealed upon the spot. The deed, moreover, empowered the Inquisition to do its pleasure in the town thenceforth, and thus gave it a legal sanction under the hand and seal of the magistrates themselves.

After such an event we cannot but say that the tribunal was fully established in France; and with this humiliating fact we must close our notice of the Inquisition of Toulouse; merely observing that the followers of our Lord Jesus Christ were not the only persons subjected to punishment, since there were others also, accused of immorality and witchcraft. Multitudes of Beguines, as they were called,—but what was the particular shade of their fanaticism is not yet ascertained,—were accused of the most disgusting impurities, far too monstrous to be credible, and were burnt alive as heretics.



## CHAPTER V.

## LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

DURING about two centuries and a half, the Inquisition was advancing towards an established form. At Toulouse, indeed, it soon became complete, although not yet independent of the bishops, as in after-times. There, at Carcassone, and probably at a few other places, the Inquisitors had *houses*, that is to say, prisons and courts, for the exercise of their juridical authority. At first they proceeded arbitrarily, using all means within reach for the accomplishment of their purpose, but without any code of instructions. From time to time, the Popes issued Bulls or Briefs, just as circumstances might require, or inclination might lead, and generally with respect to some district, or case occurring; and, as every document of the kind had the full authority of the Roman See, it was carefully preserved, and afterwards referred to as conveying universal sanction. As the Canon Law in general is made up of such documents, so, for the most part, was the ever-growing code of the Inquisition.

The *Secret*, as we have already noted, began early. It was necessary for the management of affairs which could not be divulged with safety to the persons acting. The pontificate of the notorious Boniface VIII., from 1294 to 1303, is more particularly marked as the time when secret examinations became acknowledged in inquisitorial jurisprudence; and gave the Courts of Inquisition, at once and for ever, a character of their own. Terror, and sometimes bodily torture, were made use of to assist the notaries to make up reports of confession; and it is remarkable that the evidence preserved in the Tolosan Sentences from 1307 to 1322, entirely consists of alleged *confessions*, which would not have been the case if any method of humane and fair investigation was followed.

First, familiars and other informers gave the Inquisitors intelligence enough, whether true or false, to involve the persons informed against in suspicion of heresy; and, this being done, the suspected person was required to confess; then, as we have already seen, the most trifling word or action was considered sufficient evidence of his being a heretic, or of having aided, abetted, or approved of, heretics.

The action of "the ancient Inquisition" was various and intermittent.

In France it appears as a sequel of the crusades of Bernard and Montfort; but when the first zeal of the kings who obtained the annexation of Toulouse to their territory, by the ruin of its counts and the depopulation of the towns, had passed away, and when the Gallican clergy could more effectually resist the encroachments of a tribunal wherein the Pope was directly represented, to the derogation of their episcopal rights, the French people, and the several Parliaments also, resisted the interference of an alien and cruel temporal power. Nor would the kings willingly allow the Popes to meddle with their domestic affairs. Perhaps the "Gallican liberties" would not have been gained by the clergy but for a reaction provoked by the Inquisition; and the "liberties of the kingdom of France," or "twenty privileges," resulted from the same cause.\*

In Spain, also, notwithstanding the vigorous support of many of the kings reigning over the four kingdoms that were comprehended in that peninsula, the Inquisitors made but unequal progress, everywhere encountering opposition. If

\* Some of these twenty privileges, as they were published in the reign of Louis XII., are obviously opposed to the Inquisition. For example: "1. The King of France knows no superior in temporals." "4. The King of France, without consulting the Pope, may impose subsidies on ecclesiastics, or on churches, under the name of loan, gift, or charity, for defence of the kingdom." "6. The King of France cannot be excommunicated, nor declared excommunicate, by any dignitary in the realm." "11. The King has cognizance of civil causes between ecclesiastical persons, while they act in spiritual causes, or causes thereunto relating." "12. The King alone makes constitutions or laws in the kingdom of France." "15. The Pope does not legitimate nor restore in the kingdom of France, but the King only." "19. No one authorizes the bearing of arms in the kingdom of France, but the King only." —*Stylus Supremæ Curie Parlamenti Parisiensis. Parisii, MDLI., pars 4.*

our dates be correct, more than a hundred and sixty years elapsed before an "act of faith" was celebrated in Castile. Then, however, those exhibitions became very frequent everywhere; and, at length, Nicholas Eymeric, made Inquisitor of Castile in the year 1356, collected from the Civil and Canon Laws all that related to the punishment of heretics, and formed his famous "Directory of Inquisitors," the first, and indeed the fundamental, code, which has been followed ever since, without any essential variation, throughout the Popedom.

To give a correct idea of what the Inquisition really is, *or was*, we shall borrow a general description from the Directory of Eymeric, expounded as it is by his commentator, Peña, and sanctioned by the approbation of Gregory XIII. It exhibits the practice of the Inquisition at the time of its sanction in 1578, and republication in 1587; and the theory of inquisition, with some inevitable variations of practice, has always remained unchanged. To avoid the tediousness of verbal transcript, we shall employ our own words, but be scrupulously careful to give the true sense of the Directory. It instructs Inquisitors to the following effect.

#### PROSECUTION.

In a cause of heresy you should proceed quietly and simply, without formality and noise of pleadings. There should be no delay, no interruption, no appeal, and as few witnesses as possible. It is the peculiar and high privilege of the tribunal of the Inquisition, that its judges are not obliged to follow forensic rules; and therefore the omission of what common right requires does not annul the process, provided that nothing essential to the proof be wanting.

There are three ways of proceeding in cases of heresy; by accusation, by information, and by inquiry.

The Inquisitor will seldom make use of *accusation*, inasmuch as it is unusual, dangerous to the accuser, and tedious. He will therefore discourage accusations, and advise accusers to refrain from bringing any charge, and to content themselves with laying information. Or, if an accuser persists, he may prepare the charge officially at the instance of the party; but

private persons are very seldom permitted to undertake formal accusations, since an attorney or fiscal of the Holy Office does this by virtue of his ministry, and therefore runs no risk of punishment if the charge should turn out to be false. (This provides impunity to false accusers.)

It is most usual to proceed on *information*. One person informs against another, not to involve himself in the affair, but to avoid the excommunication denounced on those who will not inform, or he does it through zeal for the faith. The information must be reduced to writing, and attested by an oath on the four Gospels, and must contain circumstances of time and place. The Inquisitor may receive his information in private, with no other witness than his secretary. The obligation to inform is absolute, notwithstanding oath, bond, or promise, to the contrary. There may be previous admonition to the suspected person, but that is not necessary. The information may appear groundless at first sight; but the Inquisitor must not cancel it on that account; for what cannot be brought to light to-day, may be made clear to-morrow. (Christ came not to condemn the world; but the Inquisitor's only work is to condemn, though he lose his own soul for it.)

When there is no informer, resort may be had to *inquiry*. This may be general, according to the Council of Toulouse, the population being got to hunt for heretics wherever they are likely to be found; or it may be undertaken by the Inquisitor alone, when there is a common report that such an one has said or done anything against the faith. The Inquisitor may question others concerning the reputation of that person; and, if he can elicit that there is any ill report against him, he may bring him up. Or, if he only entertains a suspicion, in the absence of all such report, he may proceed in the same way, but cautiously. There ought to be two witnesses to confirm the suspicion; and their evidence will be valid, even if they cannot say that they have ever heard him utter an erroneous opinion, but can only testify that they have heard it from others. Neither need they say what they have heard; for it suffices if they declare that people will talk suspectingly about him. By common right, no criminal is required to give evidence against himself; but in

a cause of heresy there is this obligation: the person accused must furnish all the particulars, to enable the fiscal to make out the charge. All the doctors agree to this. (For their sole business is to destroy their victims, in spite of every law of God or man.)

#### WITNESSES.

In causes of heresy, testimony of all sorts of persons is admissible. They may be excommunicate, infamous, accomplices, or convicted of any crime. Heretics, too, may give evidence; but only against the culprit is it valid, never in his favour. This provision is most prudent, nay, it is most just; for, since the heretic has broken faith towards his God, no one ought to take his word; and it should always be presumed that, say what he may, he is actuated by hatred to the Church, and a desire that crimes against the faith may go unpunished. The testimony of infidels and Jews may be taken also, even in a question of heretical doctrine. The testimony of false witnesses is also taken, if against the accused person, even although a previous favourable testimony may have been retracted. And note, that if the first declaration was against him, and the second favourable, the first only must be accepted. The judge must never give credit to such retractations; for if he do, heresy will be committed with impunity. Domestic witnesses—wife, for example, children, relatives, servants—may have their testimony accepted against him, and then it has great value; but it never must avail to his advantage. All moralists agree that, in case of heresy, a brother may declare against his brother, and a son against his father. Father Simancas would have excepted fathers and children from this law: but his opinion is not admissible; for, if a man may kill his father if he be an enemy to his country, how much more may he inform against him if he be guilty of heresy! The son of a heretic, who has informed thus, is exempted from the anathema launched against the children of heretics; and this in reward of his information. The reason of all this is, that nothing but the force of truth would so overcome natural feelings, as to lead one member

to delate another. And, as heresy is generally best known at home, such evidence is very necessary. (The testimony of a parricide is to be rewarded with special honour!)

Every witness who appears against a heretic must be examined and sworn by the Inquisitor, in presence of a secretary or scribe. Having put to him the usual questions, the examiner must bind him to secrecy. There may be one or two men of gravity and prudence present at the examination; but this is by no means desirable. The criminal must not see the witnesses, nor know who they were. Eymeric weakly said that there should be more than two witnesses to establish a fact; but practice, and the general opinion of the doctors, allow Inquisitors to condemn a culprit on the evidence of any two whom they can trust; and, seeing that his case has been attentively examined, this is all that he should wish. (If his enemies have *diligently* conspired to kill him, this is all that he should wish!)

When the culprit is informed of the charges against him, the names of witnesses should be concealed; or, if there be any particulars in the charges that would help him to guess the names, the testimony given by one person should be attributed to another; or names should be substituted of persons that were not witnesses: but, after all, it is best to suppress all names; and this is the general practice, safest to informers, and to the Christian public. (A lie is lovely in the Holy Office, if it helps to homicide.)

If a witness does not say all that the examiners think he can say or ought to say, or if they conceive any cause of dissatisfaction with his evidence, they may apply torture to extract the evidence they are looking for. False witnesses who have caused the death of an innocent person must not suffer any severer punishment than perpetual confinement. Some have thought otherwise, and Leo X. authorized the delivery of such offenders to the secular arm, to be put to death. But the Councils of Narbonne and Toulouse, after grave deliberations, mention no such punishment. The Council of Burgos condemns them to penance with *Sambenito*. False witnesses are not put to death by the Inquisition at Rome, nor anywhere else.

However, in any special case, the judges may consult the Inquisitor-General. A witness, suspected of falsehood, may be put to the torture: "And I," says Eymeric, "was present in a case at Toulouse in 1312, where a father who had informed against his son, was laid on the rack, and there declared that his information was false." (Reward nine hundred and ninety-nine false witnesses, to keep up the supply. Let one of a thousand be punished for a blind.)

#### EXAMINATION OF THE CULPRIT.

The Inquisitor must make the culprit swear that he will answer every question truly, even to his own damage. He must ask his name, birth-place, residence, and so on. Has he heard speak of such and such points of heresy? or has he spoken of them? The answers shall be written down, and the culprit shall sign them. He must also ask him if he knows why he is imprisoned,—whom he supposes to have caused his apprehension,—who is his confessor,—when he confessed last, and so on. He must not question him in such a manner as to suggest subterfuges, or help evasion, but let his interrogatories be vague and general. "Too much prudence and firmness," says Peña, "can never be employed in the interrogation of a prisoner. The heretics are very cunning in disguising their errors. They affect sanctity, and shed false tears, which might soften the severest judges. An Inquisitor must arm himself against all these tricks, always supposing that they are trying to deceive him." (An Inquisitor, therefore, must be no less hardened than depraved.)

Manifold are the tricks of heretics. They equivocate, use mental reservation, elude the question, affect surprise, shuffle, answer evasively, feign submission, pretend to be fainting, counterfeit madness, or counterfeit modesty. But the Inquisitor must rebut this tenfold craft, paying them in their own coin, according to the words of the apostle, *Cum essem astutus, dolo vos cepi*: "Being crafty, I caught you with guile." Let him proceed thus:—

Press them to give direct answers to your questions. If you are not satisfied with the declaration of a prisoner,—even after having employed the jailer, or secret spies, to extract from

him evidence against himself,—speak gently, gently let him understand that you know all, and discourse with him in such a way as this:—“Be assured, my child, that I am very sorry for you. They have imposed on your simplicity, and ruined you. You have been in error, no doubt; but your deceiver is more to blame than you. Be not partaker of other men’s sins, nor think of acting the part of a teacher, when you are but a learner. Confess the truth. You see that I know it well already; but I want you to save your character, and enable me to set you at liberty as soon as possible, and let you return home in peace. But, tell me, who led you first astray?” Give him good words, but keep firm, and take it for granted that the fact of his heresy is certain. Perhaps the evidence will be incomplete, and the heretic may persist in declaring that he is innocent. In that case you will put general questions; and when he denies something that you happen to have taxed him with, turn over the notes of a former examination, and say, “It is clear that you are not telling the truth. Do not equivocate any longer.” And so he will fancy that you have other evidence against him. Or you may turn over a bundle of papers, seem to be reading them, and, when he denies anything, start, as with surprise, and ask how he *can* deny *that*, seeing it is clear as day. Read your papers, turn over the leaves, and say, every now and then, “Ah! did I not say so? Confess the truth.” But be careful not to go into particulars, lest he see that you know nothing about them.

Or, if he be still obstinate, tell him that you had hoped to finish his case, as you are just going to take a long journey, and know not when you shall return; but, as he will not confess, you must leave him still in prison. He is evidently out of health, and not able to bear close confinement. You are very sorry, but cannot help it, and so on. Or you may multiply questions, and renew the examination from time to time, until he has been made to contradict himself for want of memory or self-possession; and, when his answers are confused, the doctors agree that you may put him to the torture. This method is almost sure to succeed; and he must be clever indeed that does not fall



into the snare. (Clever indeed! Only the father of lies could have taught how to lay the snare.)

Or, you may seem to relent, when the prisoner persists in his denial. Relax your severity. Give him better food. Send people to visit him; encourage him; advise him to confess; and promise that the Inquisitors will forgive him, or, at least, that they will interest themselves on his behalf. Indeed, you may promise him pardon, and you may pardon him in effect; for, in the conversion of a heretic, all is pardoned, and penances are favours. So tell him that if he will confess, he shall have more than he could himself desire: and so he will; for you will save his soul. The doctors are not agreed as to this dissimulation, which is not allowed in civil courts: "But I," says Peña, "believe that it may be used in tribunals of the Inquisition, because an Inquisitor has far more ample powers than other judges, and may dispense with penitential and canonical punishments at his pleasure. So that as he does not promise total impunity to the guilty, when he says that he will pardon him, he can fulfil the promise of pardon by forgiving him some of the canonical penalties, which will depend entirely on himself." Still some doctors are not satisfied with this opinion; but the fraud is useful for the public good; and as it is lawful to extort the truth by torture, it must be lawful, reasoning *à fortiori*, to do it by dissimulation (*verbis fictis*). However, for greater security of conscience, you may employ vague terms, capable of a double interpretation. (How very *tender* must this conscience be!)

Or, you may gain over some friend of the prisoner, and let him talk with you frequently alone, and get the secret. If it be necessary, you may authorize the friend to feign himself of the same opinion, and even to prolong his conversation until it shall be too late at night for him to go home; and then he shall stay in the prison, "having witnesses concealed in some convenient place, that they may hear the conversation, and, if possible, a clerk, who shall note down all that the criminal says, while the person you have bribed draws from him his most hidden thoughts." But the spy, although he may pretend to be also a heretic, must not say so in so many words; for that would be a lie; and sin is

not to be committed on any account. In short, whatever tricks you allow, you must be careful not to sanction an untruth. By such contrivances as these, you may get at all you want, without touching the rack, and your sagacity will search out the truth, according to the wise sentence of a poet:

*"Sed quoniam variant animi, variabimus artes ;  
Mille mali species mille salutis erunt."*

(And so the Inquisitor, with a perfectly quiet conscience, "loveth and maketh a lie.")

#### DEFENCE.

When you have extracted a confession, it will be useless to grant the culprit a defence. For, although in other courts the confession of the criminal does not suffice without proof, it suffices here. Heresy is a sin of the soul, and therefore confession may be the only evidence possible. However, for the sake of appearance, you may allow him to consult an advocate, to object to witnesses, to object to one or more of the judges, or to appeal. (In no other court is so much trouble taken to save the soul. *Holy Office!*)

As for the advocate, *you* are to choose him; and, besides possessing other good qualities, he must be zealous for the faith. Swear him to keep the secret, and to engage the client to confess. But the prisoner must not have any communication with his advocate, except in presence of the Inquisitor. And recollect the chapter in the Decretals (*Si adversus*, lib. v., tit. 7, *De Hæret.*) which forbids advocates to plead for heretics in any cause; and therefore you must not allow one to a notorious heretic, but only where the suspicion is not yet proved. And when an advocate is granted, he must swear that he will abandon his client so soon as the heresy is proved. (The advocate being a zealot, and the law being framed for vengeance, conviction is pretty sure.)

As for objecting to witnesses, heretics must not fancy that this can be easily allowed, since both honest men and rogues, excommunicate, heretics, criminals, perjured per-

sons, and any others, are permitted to bear witness against heretics. Only on one account, that of capital hatred in the witness towards the prisoner, may the latter be suffered to object; and even in such a case various methods are devised to weaken the objection, or to prevent it. (Of course there are such devices; for capital hatred is a capital qualification.)

If he appeals to the Pope, observe that all the laws agree that a heretic has no right to appeal. Thus the Emperor Frederic decided; and thus the Council of Constance determined, that the appeal of John Huss was illusory and null. Truly some laws appear to countenance appeals; but these may be easily disposed of. Note, also, that if the prisoner appeals from you on one point, you can appeal against him on some other. Or you can dispute the legality of the appeal. Or you can grant it under protest. But in no case should the Inquisitor appear at Rome to answer for his judgment; but let the Inquisitors-General, who are there, represent you. (The prisoner may have a friend at Rome, whom the Inquisitor could not conveniently confront.)

## CHAPTER VI.

### LAWS AND CUSTOMS (*Continued*).

#### TORTURE.

WHEN you subject a prisoner to torture, in order to compel him to confess, observe the rules following:—

Torture is inflicted on one who confesses the principal fact, but varies as to circumstances. Also, on one who is reputed to be a heretic, but against whom there is only one witness of the fact. In this case common rumour is one indication of guilt, and the direct evidence is another, making altogether one semi-plenal proof. The torture may bring out full proof. Also, when there is no witness, but vehement suspicion. Also, when there is no common report of heresy, and only one witness who has heard or seen something in him contrary to the faith. Any two indications of heresy will justify the use of torture. If you sentence to torture, give him a written notice in the form prescribed; but let other means be tried first. Nor is this an infallible means for bringing out the truth. Weak-hearted men, impatient of the first pain, will confess crimes that they never committed, and criminate others at the same time. Bold and strong ones will bear the most severe torments. Those who have been on the rack before, bear it with more courage; for they know how to adapt their limbs to it, and they resist powerfully.

Others, by enchantments, seem to be insensible, and they would rather die than confess. These wretches use, for incantations, certain passages from the Psalms of David, or other parts of Scripture, which they write on virgin parchment in an extravagant way, mixing them with names of unknown angels, with circles and strange letters, which they wear upon their person. "I know not," says Peña,

“how this witchcraft can be remedied; but it will be well to strip the criminals naked, and search them narrowly, before laying them on the rack.” While the tormentor is getting ready, let the Inquisitor and other grave men make fresh attempts to obtain a confession of the truth. Let the tormentor terrify him by all means, to frighten him into confession. And after he is stripped, let the Inquisitor take him aside, and make a last effort. When this has failed, let him be put to the question by torture, beginning with interrogation on lesser points, and thence advancing to greater. If he stands out, let them show him other instruments of torture, and threaten that he shall suffer them also. If he will not confess, the torture may be continued on a second or third day; but, as it is not to be repeated, those successive applications must be called *continuation*. And if, after all, he does not confess, he may be set at liberty. Rules are laid down for the punishment of those who do confess. Innocent IV. commanded the secular judges to put heretics to torture; but that gave occasion to scandalous publicity, and now Inquisitors are empowered to do it; and, in case of irregularity, that is to say, if the person dies in their hands, they are instructed to absolve each other. And although nobles were exempt from torture, and, in some kingdoms, as Aragon, it was not used in civil tribunals, the Inquisitors were nevertheless authorized to torture without restriction persons of all classes.

On the subject of torture, let this suffice from Eymeric and Peña. Much more on the same subject will be found in an Appendix which contains an account of the Spanish *Cartilla*, or manual of practice, printed within the walls of the Inquisition for the guidance of Examiners and Judges.

#### FUGITIVES AND REBELS.

No one who thought himself in danger of falling into the hands of Inquisitors would sit at home to be taken, if by any possibility he could escape; nor, if absent, would he return to be caught, and flung into a dungeon. If the Inquisitor heard an evil report or conceived ill of an absent person, his Directory instructed him to wait with patience,

even for a year or two, until the culprit, if his fears were not awakened, might return. If the absentee did not then come back, a citation should be issued, requiring him to appear within a time appointed; and if by that time he came not,—but who would come on such a summons?—the Inquisitor was to declare him *excommunicated*. If he lay unmoved by the lash of excommunication for one year, he should be pronounced a *rebel*.

Or if a person fled, after he had been convicted, whether on his own confession or by witnesses, or had been delated and summoned to appear, or if he had been known to favour heretics, he was to be summoned to present himself at the Holy Office, on pain of excommunication. Of course he was not likely to make his appearance there, and would be cursed accordingly. At the expiration of a year from the publication of the anathema, he should be finally condemned as a heretic, on presumption of guilt, although there had never been any inquest made. If he were an ecclesiastic, the Bishop of his diocese would give a sentence of degradation; but the degraded priest, or the condemned layman, was then to be given over to the secular arm, by a mandate from the Bishop and Inquisitor unitedly.

The fatal paper would set forth that the Bishop and Inquisitor, having heard an ill report of such an one, had “gone down to see and to inquire whether the rumour that had reached their ears was true or false, and whether he was walking in darkness or in light.” On the testimony of witnesses they had detected him in heresy; his confession had confirmed the evidence; and he had consented to do penance. But, seduced by an evil spirit, shrinking from the wine and oil which the Samaritan Inquisitors wanted to shed upon his wounds, he had broken prison, the wicked spirit had caught him away, and hidden him, they knew not where. They had summoned him to return, they had put up the summons by papers on many church-doors; but, blinded by insane counsel, he had contumaciously refused to come. They, for their part, obeying the exigence of justice, had excommunicated him. He, for his part, had refused the salutary medicine of their curse; and all through one full year the malignant spirit had carried him from place to

place ; but whither it had conveyed him, they could not tell. The Church of God had mercifully and kindly waited all that time,—waited to clasp him in her bosom,—waited to nourish him from the breasts of her clemency ; but still he refused to come. Then she had invited him to come in order to receive the sentence due for such heretical contumacy ; but, insensible to his mother's clemency, he still refused. Now, their patience being exhausted, and justice being urgent for the exaltation of the Catholic faith, and for the extirpation of heresy, they, in that day, hour, place, gave sentence in the usual manner, leaving him to the secular arm, with the accustomed deprecation of injury to life or limb. And the secular and ecclesiastical authorities were required to seize him, if they could.

The rebel was then to be burnt in effigy ; and if any one, while endeavouring to apprehend the living man for the honour of the Church, should unfortunately happen to kill him, the homicide, being sanctified by a righteous intention, was to be forgiven. The rebel's absence, and the default of judicial defence, did not diminish the power of the sacred tribunal to take his life.

#### ABSOLUTION.

But it might sometimes happen that the accused person was as good a "Catholic," as they say, as the Inquisitors themselves. The witnesses could not prove so much as one suspicious word, or deed, or gesture. After the exhaustion of all arts, and the application of torture too, the person under treatment had not breathed a syllable of confession ; but, on the contrary, his perfect innocence was thereby made manifest. What then ? In such a case, the Inquisitor was to grant a written absolution, setting forth that, having come down to inquire, &c., &c., &c., he had not found any legal proof of guilt, and therefore he fully released him "from the present charge, inquisition, and judgment." But if the Inquisition had declared this good Catholic to be an *innocent* man, such a declaration would have made its own act invalid, a confession not so much as to be thought of. Besides, the Inquisition presumes on guilt, in every case,

and never thinks of innocence. And the Inquisitor was instructed to avoid even the least word that might be taken to imply a formal justification. It was deemed right that a certain terror should evermore hang over the person who had once fallen under suspicion, however causeless; it was considered safe and useful that a way should be left open for future prosecution, should prosecution ever seem desirable. One needs not observe how unlike absolution in the court of heaven is this pretended absolution from the Holy Office. One needs not say how unlike to mere humanity.

#### CANONICAL PURGATION.

Evil-speaking is not heresy. Ill-natured neighbours, either drunk or sober, might ejaculate, or whisper, that such an one was a heretic. On this the Inquisitors were fully entitled to found a process, if it seemed them good. But there being an utter want of evidence, not even a word spoken unawares by the calumniated person himself whereon to rest suspicion, it would become necessary to hasten the closing of the case. The report could not be refuted without violation of secret, exposure of useful slanderers, and discouragement of the familiars and friends, if any such there were, of the Holy Office.

Something, however, must be done. The slandered person was therefore required to produce such a number of compurgators as the Inquisitors might choose, and of the class that it pleased them to prescribe. The compurgators being found, the subject of calumny was to be brought into some public place, probably at the celebration of a "Sermon;" and after he had sworn that he had never fallen into the heresy charged upon him, the compurgators were all to come forward, and swear that they, from certain knowledge, believed him to be innocent. From that time the compurgators were held answerable for his religious reputation; and if he should fall into heresy, they would inevitably share his fate. This made it almost impossible for any one to find compurgators,—at least, in sufficient number, and of the sort required. In this default, the unhappy victim of the hasty or malicious word spoken by some other person, was at once sentenced as a heretic, and punished accordingly.



## ABJURATION.

But even so, it was not often thought expedient to allow any one suspected of heresy the chance of escape by compurgation. The Inquisition classified the degrees of suspicion as *light*, *vehement*, and *violent*.

The person suspected *lightly* was to be brought out before the multitude, make his abjuration there, receive an order to do penance; and having accomplished the penance, he might then obtain release, under a strict admonition, that if again suspected he would fare worse.

Abjuration after *vehement* suspicion was followed by some ignominious penance, such as standing in the church-door on festivals, and visiting certain sanctuaries.

*Violent* suspicion was visited more severely. The suspicion became violent when the pleasure of the Inquisitors had been in any way resisted. Numberless circumstances might arise to provoke their vengeance on some person whom they did not even accuse of heresy, but with whom they might have had some disagreement or litigation, and whose bearing served both as a provocation and a pretext for what they chose to call violent suspicion. *Sambenito*, (a word we shall presently explain,) and perpetual imprisonment, with bread and water, were the remedies usually employed for the health of their "dear son," who was bidden not to despair, but asked to hope that, by meek submission, he might merit indulgence at some future, remote, uncertain time. But on any second offence, suspicion, grown more violent, would be counted equivalent with proof, and his body would then be burnt for the salvation of his soul.

## A NOTE ON EYMERIC.

Thus far Eymeric, with his annotator Peña, has been my sole authority on the Laws and Customs of this tribunal; but before I proceed to the next chapter concerning the direct and final punishments prescribed, where I shall avail myself of additional authorities, I interrupt the analysis by a brief note concerning Eymeric himself.

It is related by Wading, annalist of the Franciscans, that Nicholas Eymeric, monk of the Order of Preachers, and author of the "Directory of Inquisitors," flourished in the times of Popes Urban V., Gregory XI., Urban VI., and Boniface IX., and of Peter IV., King of Aragon. He was created general Inquisitor of Aragon about the year 1357, and died in 1393; but the entire period of his active service as an Inquisitor was not less than forty years. His activity was immense. His collection of laws, illustrated by examples, chiefly from his own practice, remains at Rome the fundamental code, still having authority undiminished, in the theory of the Inquisitors, although it is no longer possible to carry it out in practice.

## CHAPTER VII.

LAWS AND CUSTOMS (*Concluded*).

## FINES AND CONFISCATION.

HERE is a very grave question : it is the hundred-and-fourth of the knots which Eymeric undertakes to loose, the canonists assisting him. " May an Inquisitor exact the expenses from those against whom he proceeds ; and may he condemn them, by sentence, to pay these expenses ? " *Respondemus quod sic, etc.* Assuredly he may, if his income be narrow, as it generally is, and insufficient for maintaining him fitly in his office. " Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges ? " Most just, then, is it, that holy Inquisitors, men devoted to a work so pious, should have whereupon to subsist ; and none can be so proper to maintain them as the heretics for whose benefit they labour. The customs of countries, indeed, are various, and the methods of maintaining the affluence and the dignity of the Holy Office are diverse ; but whether its revenue be granted by the temporal authority, or otherwise obtained, it is most just that spiritual delinquents should be made to pay.

And as to confiscation of goods : so soon as the Inquisitor pronounces a sentence of heresy, the life of that sinner ceases to be his own. Therefore it is no longer possible that he, already a dead man, should possess house, or land, or moveables. The sins of the fathers, too, are visited upon the children ; and therefore the children of a heretic are incapable of any other inheritance than poverty and infamy. Still, as the Church is always merciful, she may, of her free grace, take care of the children, binding the boys as apprentices to a trade, putting out the girls to service, and even feeding the last infant or the sickly children ; but she must

feed them scantily, that they may be sensible of the visitation, in their own persons, of their father's iniquity. As for wives, they share the fortune of their husbands, unless a superior fidelity to the Holy Office should have entitled them to indulgent consideration after the perpetual imprisonment, or the fiery death, of their rejected husbands. The legislation on this point is carefully diffuse, and somewhat intricate; but we need not study it too closely. A penitent, be it noted, cannot have his property restored. Indigence will be a salutary penance, and justice demands the pelf in recompense to his converters.

LIGHTER PENANCE.

This is to be performed by blasphemers. "In the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition," says a very accomplished censor, "more frequently than any other offences, occur cases of diverse and exquisite blasphemies, execrable varieties of which are daily invented by perverse men." \* A common offence is therefore atoned for by a punishment easy of infliction. The blasphemer, if a layman, may satisfy ecclesiastical justice by standing outside the church-door during solemn mass on seven successive Sundays, and on the last of them barefoot, and with a halter about his neck. Add to this, abstinence on one day of each intervening week, and on the same day to give a meal to two or three poor persons. A person in office may be fined, at discretion. A blaspheming clergyman may pay by a deduction from the fruits of his benefice; but, whatsoever is done or left undone, he must not be seen to do penance openly, lest the faithful be scandalized at the sight; but if he proves incorrigible, he may be deprived of his living. Pius V., rather a severe man, prescribed a sorer penance and heavier fines for blasphemy, ordaining that the *plebeian* who could not pay should be flogged round the town for the second offence; and for the third have his tongue bored through, and be sent to the gallows. That, however, has not been the Roman practice. The sin is too

\* *Francisci Bordoni Appendices ad Manuale Consultorum in Causis Sancti Officii, &c. Parma, 1703, casus lviii.*

prevalent to be dealt hardly with. Blasphemy, mere simple blasphemy, execrable, exquisitely execrable, though it be, if there be no heretical declaration mingled with the words, is not heresy. It is an indecorum, certainly; and the priests, at least, ought to be cured of it; but it is not heresy, and it would never do to deal with it under that fearful character. Indeed, the Inquisition can only be supposed to deal with it from a pious desire of having something to do, and has never been indiscreet in the way of strictness. As for boring tongues, if that were to be done in such cases, there would be an end of Italian singing. In all the Papal chapels a voice would not be heard. But blasphemy never brings on any person the least suspicion of heresy; and these pages could not have been lightened by a single touch of tenderness, had not the Inquisition shown itself kindly considerate on the matter of exquisitely diverse blasphemy. This gleam of pity having been snatched for a moment, we must return to the sad enumeration of real penalties.

#### FLOGGING.

“Sometimes,” writes Farinacius,\* “heretics may also be punished by flogging; but blood must not be shed.” When, wherefore, in what measure, or in what manner this punishment is to be inflicted, the law does not say. It is left entirely to the discretion of the keepers of those chambers of terror to determine on what occasions their paternal chastisement may be applied; for the rest, one limitation alone restrains them,—blood must not be shed. The holy officers have a distaste for warm arterial blood, but they hold their prisoners in darkness and the shadow of death; they bind them in affliction and iron; they listen to their groans unmoved; they scourge them with unnumbered lashes, and the anguish and prostration of the sufferers awakens no pity in their bosoms. The sinner may not be spared nor pitied, yet neither must his blood be shed. Of this vulgar torment I think I have said all that the law contains; for our high authorities do not condescend to say much on a matter of

\* *Prosperi Farinacii J. C. Romani Tractatus de Hæresi. Romæ, 1616.*

mere domestic discipline, but what "sometimes" may mean was revealed to the ears of M. Dellon and of Dr. Buchanan in the Inquisition of Goa, night and morning, when they heard shrieks issuing from the dungeons.

#### DISABILITY AND INFAMY.

Every man, of whatever estate, loses all office, benefice, right, and dignity, so soon as he incurs inquisitorial punishment. His memory is to be accursed. His progeny is to be infamous. Some have asked whether children begotten in the time of his innocency, when, as yet, he had not fallen away from the Holy Catholic Church, are to be involved in the dishonour. The doctors have taken this case into consideration, and they unanimously determine that, as the end of punishment is the prevention of crime, the terror of infamy ought always to be before the eyes of every parent, in order that natural affection, with compassion towards children who might suffer by his fault, may keep his faith right. When a man is heretical, his sons, his daughters, and their children, must *all* be infamous;—when a woman, her sons and daughters only. Men need hard binding to the Romish altar. Women can be held in softer bonds. Offending fathers, be it also noted, have no more authority at home. They cannot demand honour or obedience from their children. Offending husbands have no more control over their wives, who are instructed to forsake thenceforward the nuptial bed. The women who, by compliance with this order, show themselves dutiful, are honoured by the fathers of the Holy Office.

#### PERPETUAL PRISON.

Perpetual imprisonment is a healthful penalty, graciously imposed on all convicted heretics who have satisfactorily repented, and have not relapsed. The relapsed are all burnt. As to the mode of inflicting the penalty of perpetual imprisonment, it has been various: a solitary dungeon; a private house, hired for the purpose; a monastery. Sometimes the prisoner has been maintained by the bishop, sometimes by the Inquisition itself, sometimes by a trifling charge on

his own sequestered property. Sometimes he has had to work at his trade, yet in most profound seclusion from all except his keeper, with the occasional visit of an Inquisitor, who came to know how he behaved. Sometimes his friends have been permitted to visit him ; but this indulgence could only be allowed when the public were thought to be free from taint of heresy, and the Inquisition in full power. For ecclesiastics, monasteries have been, and still are, the cheapest and most convenient prisons. Before being indulged with this commutation of a severer penalty, the heretic was to make a solemn abjuration at a Sermon, or Act of Faith, in presence of the people. In the days of its glory, the Inquisition sometimes used to parade the perpetual penitents before the public on feast-days. The sentence prescribed to be read out by the Inquisitor was almost literally the same as one quoted above from the Book of Sentences of the Inquisition of Toulouse. And here we must stay, for a moment, to speak of prisons in general.

In civil jurisprudence imprisonment was intended for custody alone, until the Inquisition enlarged its use, and made it also penal. But, although in common practice the end of justice is attained by the safe custody of an accused person, and severities, after trial and sentence, are penal, the Canon Law makes imprisonment for custody harder than imprisonment for penalty. The doctrine and practice of Canon Law may be shortly told.

Clement IV., intent on the extermination of heretics, commanded "all the powers of the world, the lords temporal of provinces, lands, cities, and all other places," the diocesan bishops, and the Inquisitors of heretical pravity there deputed, or thereafter to be deputed from the Apostolic See, to make inquest, pursue, arrest, and keep in strait and careful custody those children of iniquity, despite all appeal or prayer for pity. This you may find in the Sext \* *Decretals, De Hæreticis*. The Council of Vienne, under Clement V.,

\* Commonly so called, from the title of the *SEXTUS Decretalium Liber*. It is preceded by the *five Books of Gregory IX.*, and followed by the *Clementines* and the *Extravagantes*. These constitute the text of Canon Law, since enlarged or modified by whatever is published "under the ring," or "under the lead," (in Briefs or Bulls,) by successive Popes.

directed that, for the glory of God, the augmentation of His faith, and the happier transaction of the business of the Inquisition, the Bishops and Inquisitors should, putting away all fleshly love, hatred, fear, or other temporal affection, by their sole authority, cite, arrest, and imprison heretics, laying iron manacles upon their hands, and iron fetters upon their feet. Moreover, they were to deliver them into hard and strait prison, there to be examined, and, if necessary, put to torture.

Degrees of guilt required provisions for inflicting corresponding measures of suffering or degradation in the prison. The palace of the Inquisition, therefore, or the *Holy House*, had extensive accommodation for all classes of delinquents;—rooms well ventilated, light and air being admitted through iron grating, and sufficiently large for the occupant to move about, with bed, seat, fire-place, and a few conveniences;—or close, dark cells, with little air, small space, a heap of straw, no fire-place, and scarcely any kind of convenience;—or, deeper still, no light, scarcely space enough to move or stand upright;—a “little ease,” a mis-shapen pit, wherein the living body sank into the hollow of an inverted cone, and was fed with barely enough to keep up the functions of nature, just enough to prevent death, and no more. Then were added, in set proportion of weight and number, those manacles, fetters, chains, and other contrivances of torment. The sworn jailer might not speak to the suffering “child of iniquity,” however summoned. To no call, or entreaty, or sigh, or shriek, was the “faithful and industrious” keeper to give an answer by word or sign. No communication, no respite, no token of compassion! The Inquisitor would come or send, when so it pleased him, to put a question, tempt with a promise, or terrify with a threat.

The durance being thus made perfect in utter solitude and in despair, there could not be any collusion with other criminals, nor corruption of keepers, nor intelligence from the outer world, nor chance of any sort for defrauding the ends of justice. Gradually, from the healthy and somewhat convenient chamber down into the horrible pit, the “inquisite” who refused to deny Christ, to betray brethren, or to confess crimes not committed, was made to descend; and, if still



obstinate, was taken to the rack, or handed over to the stake.

This discipline, if necessary, having been employed, and yet nothing proved; or, if a recantation had been extorted, and, if extorted, thought sufficient; the Inquisitors might sentence the sufferer to perpetual imprisonment. And this imprisonment might be tolerably easy,—if in confinement, vexation, and disgrace, there can be ease. It was even possible that, after the endurance of some years, this penalty might cease, and so the prisoner become a penitent at large. Or, if the Inquisitor, offended, dissatisfied, or otherwise moved to severity, so chose, he might aggravate the hardship of the place, plunge his victim into the profoundest dungeon, and be only restricted within one limit,—that he should not instantly deprive him of life, but keep the breath in his body. If, however, death should happen, the Inquisitor would be held guilty of an irregularity; for which irregularity he must atone, not by being whipped or strangled, but by mentioning the little matter under secret to a brother Inquisitor, each being under standing instructions to give in such a case immediate absolution from all censure ecclesiastical.

#### DELIVERY TO THE SECULAR ARM.

“The secular arm” is the civil power, subservient to the vengeful pleasure of the ecclesiastical. “Penitents” who repent them of having yielded to the fear of temporal death, and, to escape the death eternal, confess Christ again, or persons brought a second time under accusation; reputed heretics, whose endurance is accounted pertinacity; “negative heretics,” who persist in denying what the Inquisitors think they should confess, there being “full proof” against them;—are delivered over to the secular arm. But the delivery is conducted with ceremony. “God-fearing men” are sent by the Inquisitors to converse with the doomed offender, to speak to him of the nothingness of this world, the miseries of life, and the glories of heaven. They tell him that since he cannot escape temporal death, he ought to be reconciled with God. If he will not heed their exhortations, he must feel the fire; but if he will con-

fess, be absolved, and receive the host, the Church will graciously receive him to her bosom; and although he must die for the good of his soul, the secular arm will so act that his death shall be moderately easy,—will strangle him as promptly as possible; and he shall be so far spared the flames, which will but consume a dead body, not the living person. This errand of grace accomplished, the messengers report accordingly; and the Inquisitors tell the magistrate that the person whom they condemned is *ready*.

At the time and place appointed, instruments of death being prepared, the person to be killed is brought forward, himself only, or with others, as we shall presently show. If a priest, he is degraded according to the form prescribed. The Inquisitors and others being in their proper places, a paper is read, containing a recitation of his case, and perhaps concluding thus:—"Having been informed that, after all, you are fallen again into the same errors, and having examined this information carefully, we find that you are indeed relapsed. Since, however, you return again to the bosom of the Church, abjuring heresy, we grant you the sacraments of penance and eucharist, which you humbly ask; but Holy Mother Church cannot do anything more in your favour, because you once abused her kindness. Therefore we declare you relapsed, put you away from the jurisdiction of the Church, and leave you to the secular judges, whom we efficaciously beseech (*efficaciter deprecantes*) so to moderate their sentence, that no shedding of blood or peril of death may follow."

Here, again, is an important question. How can the Inquisitors make this request, at the same time that they deliver the prisoner for the very purpose of having him killed, and are solemnly and sincerely instructed to excommunicate and punish any faint-hearted magistrate that shall refuse to kill him? The question is easily answered. First: They have not in so many words delivered him to the secular arm, but only *left* him to it. Secondly: The magistrate cannot understand them to mean, that he shall not be killed, whatever they may say, because it is unlawful to plead or to intercede for a heretic. Thirdly: Whatever the magistrate may or may not understand them to mean, they have pro-

nounced words of intercession that will effectually save themselves from the "irregularity" of shedding blood, or killing, in any way. Killing, we know, is murder, generally speaking; but Inquisitors are exempted from the operation of ordinary laws: and as they never intend to kill any person, because the Church does not so intend, if it should happen that any one dies in their hands, not by their intention, but through the obstinacy of the person so dying, if it be remotely possible that they might have prevented the untoward accident, then they are fallen into an irregularity. Such accidents have happened in the service of the Church; and therefore, in such an event, she empowers her ministers to confess to each other, and to absolve each other.

When the magistrate kills a heretic, a schismatic, or a rebel, he does his duty, and they bless him. But the deed is *his*, not *theirs*. They never kill, except by accident Excellent Church! that can so nicely manage conscience, and so liberally remit the pains of hell, and so cleanly absolve herself from even the darkest stain of criminality.

There are many forms of sentence and varieties of ceremonial which few persons will be curious to know; but there is one contingency to be provided for, and that we note. A pertinacious heretic has brought himself to the verge of death, but now repents. What is to be done with him? On such a case Eymeric descants with his accustomed coolness, thus:—"And while the secular court is fulfilling its office, a few upright men, zealous for the faith, may go to the criminal, and exhort him to return to the Catholic faith, and renounce his errors. And if, after the sentence is passed, and he is given over to the secular court, while they are taking him away to be burnt, or when he is tied to the stake, or when he feels the fire, he says that he is willing to turn and repent, and abjure his heresy, I should think that he might, in mercy, be received as a heretic penitent, and immured for life, according to some passages in the Decretals," (which are cited,) "although I imagine this would not be found very justifiable, nor is great faith to be placed in conversions of this sort. Indeed, such an occurrence did take place in Barcelona, where three heretics impenitent, but not relapsed, were delivered to the secular

arm, and when one of them, a priest,\* had the fire lit round him, and was already half burnt on one side, he begged to be taken out, and promised to abjure and repent. He was taken out, and abjured. But whether we did right or not, I cannot say. One thing I know, that fourteen years afterwards he was accused, and found to have persisted in his heresy all the time, and infected many. He then refused to be converted, and, as one impenitent and relapsed, was again delivered to the secular arm, and consumed in fire." Of course, he was consumed in fire, that being the natural punishment of heretics, from its resemblance to hell, and according to the saying of the Lord, "If a man abide not in Me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered, and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned." At the conclusion of such a burning in the presence of the civil authorities, and a great multitude of people, who have been edified by so lively an image of the last judgment, the Inquisitor or the bishop proclaims a general indulgence from the flames of purgatory to as many as took any part in the solemnities of the day, even as spectators only, or have in any way assisted the Holy Office in their labour of love!

As for those who have betaken themselves to flight, and refuse to return to be punished in their proper persons, their effigies are handed over to the civil magistracy to be burnt, in signification of the punishment awarded to them, as rebels, and awaiting them if they should be caught.

#### SUBJECTS OF INQUISITORIAL JURISDICTION.

The tribunal claims right of jurisdiction over the following persons. All heretics without exception. All who

\* This priest's name ought not to perish. During the pontificate of Benedict XII., which was from the year 1334 to 1342, a sect of Beghards, as Eymeric calls them, sprang up in Catalonia. We only hear of them by the report of their enemies; but the fact now before us indicates something far more vigorous than heresy. Fray Bononato was the leader of those Spanish dissidents. It was he whom they bound to the stake at Barcelona. He repented of his recantation, and resumed his ministrations in secret. A congregation assembled in a private house in Villa Franca, a town between Barcelona and Tarragona; but it was discovered. His accomplices, as they were called, were thrown with him into the flames, and the house was razed to the ground.—*Direct. Inquis.*, p. 266.

blaspheme God and the saints. They who utter words of blasphemy when extremely drunk are not to be condemned at once, but watched. If half drunk, they are entirely guilty. They who speak blasphemously or heretically in their sleep are to be watched; for it is likely that their lips betrayed the heresy that was lurking in their hearts. All who speak jestingly of sacred things. Wizards and fortune-tellers. Worshippers of the devil: and it seems that while the Inquisition was in its glory, when the Reformation had scarcely dawned, or where its light had scarcely penetrated, people were known to offer sacrifices to the evil one, kneel down to him, sing hymns to him, observe "chastity" and fast in honour of him, illuminate and cense his images, insert names of devils in the litanies of saints, and ask them to intercede with God. Such was the condition of many who had known no other church but that of Rome.

But to return. They who called on Satan to do his proper works of mischief were not guilty of heresy, according to some doctors, if they commanded him; but were guilty, if they besought him. They might command, without much impropriety, (we should say,) the being who had so long, so intimately, so effectually served their Church. To recognise that service ought not to be accounted heresy, and therefore it is no heresy to command it. Astrologers and alchymists are under the jurisdiction of the Holy Office. So are infidels and Jews; for, although Jews are not subject to the Church, according to the saying of St. Paul, that he did not judge them that were without, Jews become subject when they speak against Christianity, for in so doing they commit an ecclesiastical offence. The Church, then, may avenge her own quarrel, although she cannot avenge that of Christ. All who harbour, or show kindness to heretics, being themselves orthodox; very near relatives, however, having slight indulgence allowed them, in some cases, if the Inquisitors please. All who look ill on an Inquisitor,—those ugly looks being indications of heresy, and injurious to the Holy Office. Persons in civil office who hinder the Inquisition and its agents, or who refuse to help them, or allow an accused person to conceal himself or to escape. Any one who gives food to a heretic, unless he be actually dying of hunger; for

in this case it is allowable to feed him, that he may live to take his trial, and, haply, to be converted. Experienced Inquisitors could detect a heretic by a characteristic unsightliness about the eyes and nostrils.

PRIVILEGES.

The privileges of this tribunal were exorbitant and numberless; and still would be, if the state of society did not render most of them impossible. Still they exist in theory, and Inquisitors are yet living, no doubt, who consider them their due. For example:—

Notwithstanding the principle of worldly justice that a judge may not accuse, prosecute, and give sentence in his own cause, it is decided that “they who injure and offend Inquisitors may be punished by the Inquisitors themselves, because any such injury is said to be committed against the Church.” Notice is given that “those who strike, knock down, or frighten advocates, proctors, notaries, or other ministers of the Holy Office, are to be punished with the penalty of death, and confiscation of their goods, and with all other penalties to which persons guilty of high treason are liable.”

“Notwithstanding any prohibition of the civil, municipal, or other law, the officials and familiars of Inquisitors of heretical pravity may carry forbidden arms at any time, day or night.” So may any persons on whom Inquisitors are pleased to call for help. Some cautions are written in the books; but if it were ever possible for these persecutors to get the population on their side, they might arm the people against the lawful authorities. How far populations have been so armed, all know who have read European history. Yet we believe that the people have never taken up arms in defence of the Holy Office.

Exemptions and powers so great as to make the Inquisition independent of all other authorities, and sometimes absolute over both Church and State, have been accorded to it; and nowhere does the Canon Law present any barrier to check its march, until it approaches the Pope, the cardinals, and the delegates of the Court of Rome and the Apostolic See. At this diplomatic centre the ruling power has held

the several instruments of Inquisition,—Jesuitism, a subject episcopate, and a servile monasticism,—and thus cleverly divides and governs.

The general reader has now before him a sufficiently distinct sketch of the science of inquest and punishment of heresy. Those whose taste or whose duty may lead them to study more closely this branch of Romish legislation are referred to Eymeric himself, or to Farinacius, a Roman jurisconsult, whose folio saw the light in Rome about thirty years later, and was also circulated throughout Europe for the instruction of that host of practitioners which had spread itself all over Popedom, with or without the name of Inquisitor. We have yet to exhibit, in the Appendix, a later document, having a character of its own, but now proceed to trace the action of this horrid institution in those countries where it was formally established. That document is the Spanish *Cartilla*, which will, no doubt, be perused with the attention it so well deserves.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### FRANCE.

PRACTITIONERS in Canon Law used to be familiar with the chapter *Inter sollicitudines*, which is in fact a Brief of Innocent III. to the Archbishop of Sens. I cannot fix upon a point of time at which the history of the French Inquisition might more fitly begin.

The chief solicitude of the third Innocent, as we have already seen, was to catch the little foxes that were trying to spoil the Lord's vineyard; their faces diverse, and their tails tied together with a band of vanity, the foxes "agreeing together in the same." They mingled water with the wine; they mixed dragon's venom in a golden Babylonian cup; they levelled their arrows to shoot at the innocent in secret. Their error was like the sprouting blossom, which must be nipped early, or it will never be destroyed, and the Church will be covered with bitter fruit. From such,—for so the apostle taught,—from such the faithful were to turn away. "Against them," cried Innocent, "let the priests sound their silver trumpets loud and clear, and call out the people. Let the ark of the Lord go forward. Let the walls of Jericho be overthrown. Let them be crushed under a perpetual curse."

The Archbishop of Sens, whom the Pope complimented as a man devout and provident, might fulfil the duty of a true shepherd, exercise pastoral care over his flock, be zealous for the law of Christ, attack the heretics, unsheath the sword of canonical vengeance, and strike down them and their abettors. He must catch the little foxes, and either kill them all, too, or send them off the ground.

This declamation was preparatory to an interesting event.

At the town of Charité, now included in the department



of Nièvre, the bishop of the diocese, and his brother-bishop of Meaux, had assembled the population of that place and neighbourhood, and bidden them hunt out all persons whom common report or private suspicion marked as likely to be heretics. Such an one was the Dean of Nevers, whose conduct had given great offence to the zealots. Him, on account of vehement suspicion and grave scandal, the Metropolitan had suspended from the exercise of priestly functions, and commanded to appear for trial on a day appointed at Melun, and hold himself ready to answer to a charge of heresy. He came accordingly, and found a court at that time new in France, constituted by the Archbishop of Sens, and consisting of himself, the Bishops of Melun and Nevers, and many Doctors of Civil and Canon Law; but there was no accuser, and the Archbishop undertook the twofold office of prosecutor and judge. Witnesses were examined on both sides, and their depositions were made public; but the evidence was not sufficient for conviction. The Law of Inquisition was not yet matured; and the forms of justice shielded the Dean from a condemnation that could not be justified in any civil court, where the evidence of indisputable fact was necessary for the establishment of guilt. The accused, therefore, confidently demanded a sentence of acquittal; but the Archbishop could not bring himself to pronounce it. So the Dean was not convicted of heresy; but he had shown humanity to some that were, and the Archbishop postponed his decision until advice should be taken with the bishops his colleagues in court, and also with the Bishop of Troyes.

Such advice was taken accordingly; but the four prelates could not dare to condemn their fellow-priest, inasmuch as the trial had been public, the facts were well known, and public opinion, if the Dean had suffered, would have pronounced them guilty of shedding innocent blood. In this dilemma they sent him out of his own country, to be tried again in Rome, there to receive a definitive sentence. The cardinals in consistory examined him, but his profession of Romish faith was clear; and so their Eminences thought fit to recommend that he should return to France, and be allowed the revenue of his deanery, but remain under suspension from priestly functions, in penalty of suspicion.

Then, if he was heard to preach against his old friends the priests, and if he fell under the least suspicion among them, or committed the slightest indiscretion, the Archbishop was instantly to draw the sword of justice from the scabbard, and punish him without pity.\* Up to this time, then, there were no purely inquisitorial laws acknowledged in France to be in force; but in case of alleged offence against the faith, the form of trial did not yet vary materially from that of civil courts.

During the same tumultuary inquisition at La Charité, an abbot was brought before the bishops under suspicion of heresy, but also without evidence of proof. In defect of power, the Inquisitors sent him to Rome in like manner; and Innocent, glad to find some reason or pretext for a severer sentence, sent him back to France, under orders to the Archbishop of Paris to have him consigned to perpetual imprisonment in a monastery.†

The same course was pursued by this Pontiff to the end of his reign. Legates, or commissaries, first empowered to represent him in causes of faith, in the year 1203, were chiefly active in promoting a second crusade against the Albigenses, in which the notorious Count Simon of Montfort made himself conspicuous, ravaging a flourishing district with every form of brute force, and slaughtering an untold multitude of victims. Other similar commissions were appointed from time to time; the Pope always reserving to himself the final sentence, until the establishment in France of a regularly-constituted tribunal, about thirty years after the death of Innocent.

Here I must make a short digression.

If one were to read only the solemn decrees, constitutions, bulls, and statutes promulgated in those times for the repression of even free thought on religion, no less than for the punishment of all who, in thought or speech, were known or suspected to depart in the least from the appointed standard, he might be disposed to attribute the severity of ecclesiastics to a sincere jealousy for the purity of religion. Nothing

\* *Innocent. III. PP. Regestorum* lib. ii., num. 63, Maii 7, 1199.

† *Ibid.*, num. 99, Junii 19, 1199.

could exceed their care to preserve unchanged the formulas of doctrine, even to the last syllable. There was an air of honesty and self-devotion in much of these proceedings; and, in their zeal to root out the tares, as they would say, from among the wheat, they often exposed themselves to peril, and braved the execrations of the people with a firmness which looked like heroism, and seemed worthy of even a martyr's faith. It is not difficult to see something very like sincere disinterestedness in their conduct, equally distinguished as it was by cruelty and self-renunciation. It may perhaps be thought that the restless anxieties of Councils to preserve a system of theology intact should, in fairness, be taken to indicate a conscientious watchfulness over that which those men fought for against entire provinces, and for which they hazarded not only reputation, but life itself.

To this, however, there is the obvious reply, that there is united with all that self-renouncing zeal a spirit contrary to the spirit of Christianity; and the objector may be reminded that no amount of zeal alone can indicate that tenderness of conscience which true Christianity imparts.

But there is an abounding charity which this answer does not satisfy. Great sincerity, it is said, may consist with grievous error; and a persecutor may live in good conscience, as did Saul of Tarsus.

This is indisputably true; but if we are to measure the standard of Christianity in a church or a generation, we must take a fairly comprehensive view of all that contributes to it. If we would estimate the character of the dominant religion in France during the reign of Louis IX., for example, we must ascertain what manner of persons were the priests and people of that time. Now, it is certain that the imagination of ecclesiastics, as it found expression in their language, was never more turbid; nor was the casuistry of theologians ever more demoralizing; nor were the manners of clergy and laity ever more licentious. I cannot unlock the confessional to seek there for evidence; but I have observed, that whatever impurity is now to be found, almost under seal, in the books of Dens and Liguori, is met with openly, fresh and undisguised, in the reign of Saint Louis and the pontificate of Gregory IX.

Certain "Inedited Precepts" lie before me at this moment ; and their perusal,\* revealing what is unutterably foul, reminds me that the grossest sensualities are habitually mentioned as of perpetual occurrence in all classes of society, in all situations of domestic life, with clergy and laity, in the homes of the people, and under consecrated roofs. Yet while the severest ban closed every door of pity against the excommunicate, and while no shade of discretion was allowed a humane priest in dealing with a person suspected of the lightest taint of heresy, and the administration of penitential discipline was conducted with a stern sagacity that nothing could escape, penances that could never be enforced were written down for the transgressions of the licentious, but little more than written down. No one really performed them ; for they were so long, so heavy, and so numerous, as to defy infliction, and by mere excess became ridiculous. Then the floodgate was thrown open to all vice by sentences like these : "Because the frailty of our times cannot abide censure of so great rigour, let the priests attemper it with prayers, alms, and other satisfactions, as far as they know how, or as they may consider to be expedient." And at the same time that the Inquisitors were strictly instructed not to spare any one on account of age or sex, confessors were instructed, that "as, on account of the tenderness of the female sex, this severity cannot be at all observed, (*non valeat omnino observari*,) let priests be careful, when such women confess to them, that they add the oil of discreet mercy to the wine of the canon, and so temper penance, that the penitent be not overwhelmed by the immensity of its weight, nor, by undue indulgence, be left, most cruelly, to the fire of purgatory."

A dissolute woman,† who, at the best, would now be admitted into a reformatory, was sent to a nunnery to "serve God ;" while a matron of unspotted life, if known to ask a blessing on her food in a form unauthorized, would be flung into a dungeon, if not into the fire. This was a monstrous inconsistency, to say the least. The Church, supposing

\* *Præcepta Antiqua Diocesis Rotomagensis*, A.D. 1235.

† XCVIII. *Fæmina quæ cum patre spirituali fuerit fornicata, omnia derelinquat, et res suas pauperibus tradat ; et, conversa in monasterio, Deo usque ad mortem servet.*

for an instant that she could take the place of God, and forgive sins, might be applauded for tenderness to the feeble, and even forgiven for some excess of tenderness to those whom her own ministers led into transgression; but it is most remarkable that while the French, like all the other clergy, would spare all such transgressors both from penance and purgatory, they were relentless towards the most unblemished in life and reputation, if the pestilential breath of a suspicion of heresy had ever fallen on them. These, as heretics, must go to the dungeon, to the stake, and to hell. After this we cannot say much in commendation of the Christianity of that age.

Now to resume the thread of our history.

After the crusade preached by Bernard in the eleventh century, renewed by Innocent III., and headed by such princes as could be persuaded to engage in it from time to time, Gregory IX. wrote a letter, addressed to the Minister of the Friars Minors in Navarre, and to the Master of the Friars Preachers in Pamplona, reminding them that he had given the sword of the word of God into their hands, which, according to the sentence of the prophet, they were not to keep back from blood; but, after the example of Phinehas, "zealot of the Catholic faith," were to proceed against them, and, if necessary, (*si opus fuerit*,) were to call in the aid of the secular arm. They, the monks, might kill if they could; that is to say, if they could get the faithful to revive the crusade; but, if not, the fire of mad fanaticism being nearly spent, they were to call in the secular authority to kill for them. Strange it is, then, that in the face of this epistle, which may be found in Bzovius, (A.D. 1235,) any one should dare to say that the Inquisition was established to prevent the people from killing the heretics, and to substitute a humane court, thrifty of life, in order to save the Albigenses from being slaughtered.

The secular authority was accordingly invoked; and, obedient to the summons, Louis IX. prayed Alexander IV. to establish Inquisitors of the faith over all France. The fiction of a secular origin to the sanguinary scheme thus received some colour; and the Prior of the Dominicans at Paris was invested with authority to be Inquisitor-General

of the whole kingdom of France, as well as the county of Toulouse.

How the Inquisition of Toulouse proceeded, we have learned from the "Book of Sentences," archived in that city; and if Papal authorities could have prevailed over all other, the Gallican Church would soon have been laid prostrate under their feet, as is evident from the instances already cited. The clergy, however, resisted the Roman innovation; and when Frenchmen fled from their dwellings through fear of the Inquisition, the priests allowed them to take refuge in the churches, where, by right of asylum, they were safe. Nicholas IV., indeed, willing to sacrifice anything to the reigning passion for destroying heresy, gave a Bull, empowering the officers of the new institution to drag fugitives from the altars; and, in so doing, to set at nought one of the proudest, yet most unreasonable, and even dangerous, privileges of the Church herself. For a time, no doubt, sanctuary was broken; no consideration of humanity or of sanctity could suffice to shield a suspected person from the rage of his pursuer: but the relations of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and the right of the bishops and archbishops to an independent jurisdiction within their own provinces, were too closely studied, and too earnestly contended for, to allow the Pontiffs, or their delegates the Inquisitors, to exercise an absolute power even over heretics.

The ecclesiastical history of France, like that of Europe, is full of controversy between Church and State, and also between the clergy and their Roman chief; and from this conflict of interests it resulted that the Inquisition, as a permanent court, was at the worst of times less conspicuous in France than in some other countries, and that civil officers and dragoons did there what priests and familiars have done elsewhere.

During four or five centuries the contending powers of the Papacy and the King or the Parliaments, or both King and Parliaments together, found alternate ascendancy; each change of position depending on the usual efforts of intrigue, or interest, or force. At one time we find Philip the Fair subjecting Fulco, a bloodthirsty Inquisitor in Aquitaine, to an inquest by commissioners, and requiring that heretics shall be sent to royal prisons, and not to the dungeons of the

“Holy House,” and be released forthwith, unless the seneschal concurs in the prosecution. But Philip is excommunicated, and France put under interdict. Then heresy, so called, spreads the more. At another time, Gregory XI. urges King Charles V. to issue edicts, and send commissioners, to hold up the falling Inquisition. Then the obedient King hastens to prove his loyalty to Rome, thunders threatenings, dispatches auxiliaries to the Serjeants of the Faith, crams the royal jails with suspected people, and causes new prisons to be built and filled, in order that no possible endeavour may be wanting to preserve those dregs of Christianity which were called “the Faith.”

One of those new erections was the Bastille of S. Antoine, in Paris, which became the most horrible of all state prisons. It was, of course, a royal prison, and not meant to be placed at the service of the Church exclusively; but the very first person therein immured was one under suspicion of heresy. Hugues Aubriot, Provost of the Merchants, by command of the King, laid the first stone of what was to answer the twofold intention of prison and fortress, on the 22d of April, 1369. Ere the building was well finished, the Provost himself, although he had stood very high in royal favour, and was considered to have great influence at Court, incurred the displeasure of the clergy, was accused of impiety and heresy, condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and locked up in a chamber of the Bastille; the first captive that ever wept within its walls. In the year 1381, during an insurrection in Paris, provoked by excessive taxation of the inhabitants, a strong body of men burst the gates, brought out Aubriot, and made him their chief. He escaped from that position, and fled from France; but there had fallen a curse on the Bastille, that never left it until that day, in 1789, when the first stroke of the French Revolution fell upon it, set free its last captives, demolished its fortifications, swept clear the site, and left nothing of it but the hateful memory. Not without reason, the Bastille has been sometimes called the French Inquisition.

For a time it seemed as if the cause of God was lost. But still there was a spark of truth smouldering in the ashes of the martyrs; the breath of Reformation quickened it after

long darkness, and forthwith another inevitable missive from Pope Clement VII. renewed inquisitorial severities. Paul IV. repeated the experiment of a Bull to establish the Inquisition in full strength and form ; but the Parliament of Paris refused to register it, and by that refusal nullified its power in France.

But Popes and their servants laugh at Parliaments when it seems possible to laugh with impunity ; and after this rebuff, (A.D. 1559,) when the south of Europe was mad against the Reformation,—which seemed, just in the last year of Mary, to be crushed in England,—King Henry II., advised by Cardinal Caraffa, proposed to establish a strong Court of Inquisition in France, after the model of that in Spain. His ministers, however, dissuaded him from an attempt which might provoke a civil war ; and he was forced to be content with asking for a prelate or a doctor to be delegated from the Pope, to conduct a sort of ambulatory tribunal, disguised under another name, but effecting the same work. Such a scheme was tried, but came to little. Inquisitors by stealth were auxiliaries rather than principals in persecuting the Reformed. They were invested with the office, but could not exercise it, as in Spain, apart from the observation and control of the civil magistrate. To relate what they procured to be done, in regard to the Reformed, would be to recite the whole history of the sufferings of the Huguenots, and to stray far beyond the limits of our chosen field.

But the Huguenots were not the only persons marked for discipline. One Matthew Ori, a Dominican, who for many years bore the title of Inquisitor-General of France, has a name the more certainly preserved from oblivion, as on him devolved the service of watching the eccentricities of young Ignatius of Loyola, afterwards founder of the Society of Jesus. Ignatius was for some time a student in the University of Paris. Ori had him taken into custody, subjected him to searching examinations, and put his famous “Book of Spiritual Exercises” under censorship. Not without considerable difficulty could Ignatius persuade the sacred Searcher of the Faith to be satisfied of his orthodoxy ; and there is said to be some reason to believe that his mind had



once wavered between the old superstition and the religion of the martyrs.\*

The same Ori did his best to hinder the publication of the Holy Scriptures in England. Richard Grafton, as may be remembered, and Edward Whitchurch, went over to Paris, to endeavour to print Coverdale's Bible, paper and labour being cheaper there than in London. In compliance with a request from our King Henry VIII., the King of France, Francis I., gave them a licence, granting "sufficient and legitimate liberty" to print this Bible in Latin and English, and, "without any disturbance, trouble, or impediment whatever," convey the copies to England. Supported by royal authority, they soon executed their commission; and the sacred volume was nearly through the press when Ori pounced upon the printer. A copy of his order to prosecute the printer, and of the French King's licence to print the book, may be found among the manuscripts in the British Museum. The former, dated 17th December, 1538, was issued by Henry Garvais, Prior of the Dominicans in Paris, and Vicar-General of Ori, setting forth "that, since making translations of the sacred Scriptures, as well of the Old Testament as of the New, into the mother tongue, which come into the hands of the simple, it is found in these last days that some have taken occasion of error in the faith; and that it is provided by edicts of the Supreme Court of Parliament," (setting at nought the authority of the King, an authority which his Majesty had full right to exercise in regard to foreigners desiring a book in a foreign language,) "that none should print the Old and New Testament in his mother tongue, or sell it, being printed; and that it was known to him" (Ori) "that one Francis Regnault, a bookseller of the city of Paris, did print the Bible in the vulgar Britannie or English language, by reason of which scandals and errors might arise in the Church; therefore he gave his order to all priests, vicars, curates, &c., to cite the said F. Regnault, and all others whom it might concern, to answer, &c. And he inhibited them, under canonical pains, from printing the said Bible, or making away, or concealing, the sheets already printed."†

\* *Orlandini Hist. Societ. Jesu.*, i., 70-98; ii., 51.

† Cleopatra, E. V.

This document was signed and sealed by Le Tellier, Notary of the Inquisition.

Regnault was quickly brought before that tribunal, and there charged with certain articles of heresy; and even the Englishmen were summoned thither, including Miles Coverdale himself. These fled, and the whole impression, consisting of 2,500 copies, fell into the hands of Ori. Part was burnt in the Place Maubert, by order of the Lieutenant Criminal, and the remainder was sold as waste paper. In the year 1540 the blessed book was printed, far more suitably, in London.

King Francis had but coldly complied with the request of the King of England. Other persecutors, with him, were well pleased to employ the Inquisitors as their agents; and from that time onward they trod steadily in the footsteps of Chief Inquisitor Ori, labouring to suppress the Reformation in France, and keep it out of the University. Often they detected secret companies of worshippers, many of whom the soldiers cut to pieces. But the Kings generally eyed the Inquisitors with distrust.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, we find that portion of the Canon Law which relates to this department of ecclesiastical government enforced in Spain; and the Directory of Farinacius, the latest guide printed in Rome, was then published in France under the direct sanction of Louis XIII., to serve, of course, as a guide to the Inquisitors, who had persisted in exercising their functions. On the other hand, in the reign of his successor, Louis XIV., when a nuncio of Innocent X. presumed to condemn a tract printed in France, in opposition to a decree of the Congregation of the Holy Office in Rome, the Parliament of Paris rose in indignation, and declared that the congregations of the Court of Rome had no jurisdiction in France, nor had the Pope any right to publish such decrees. This disagreement grew into a set controversy concerning the relative rights of King and Pope, until, in the year 1682, the high clergy sided with the Crown; and, at their assembly in Paris, made the memorable declaration that they had power to manage their own affairs independently of the Roman See.

After this, the Inquisition could no longer maintain a sepa-

rate existence in the country, however much desired by some politicians to be made an engine of absolute regal government. The Gallican clergy, at this time half emancipated, gave a solemn judgment, that kings hold their authority independently of popes, who cannot justly have any power over them. The Supreme Council of the Spanish Inquisition, on the contrary, launched a censure, condemning this proposition of the French clergy as heretical; but their attempted interference was regarded with contempt. Yet the same clergy, while they maintained a political principle necessary to the security of their nation, were at the height of rage against the Huguenots; and the Parisian and provincial Parliaments were carrying on as horrible a persecution as the world ever saw. The dragonnades were filling France with slaughter. In the third year after the publication of the famous Four Articles of the metropolitan Assembly, came the calamitous revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and the French history of those times tells us, in every sentence, what universal history confirms, that, without the truth of Christianity and the love of Christ, to talk of ecclesiastical independence and national dignity is but mockery. And it is certain that the Gallican clergy would have cared little to oppose the Inquisition, if the Courts of Paris and Rome had not been at variance on questions of temporal emolument, and of regal or pontifical prerogative.

It is also certain, that although the French clergy once resisted the Court of Rome, when that Court condemned a writing which it had pleased them to approve; and although the Holy Office have never been able to erect its own palaces and prisons in France; the same clergy have been quite ready to acknowledge the authority, and even to solicit the decisions, of the Roman Congregation. Repeatedly did these bishops and clergy solicit the Pope to condemn the *Augustinus* of Cornelius Jansenius, or the propositions extracted from that book, attributed to Jansenius himself, and said to constitute the distinguishing marks of Jansenism. And by the action of the Inquisition against Jansenism, we shall learn how it can act on a country, while yet its tribunals may not be tolerated in it. By this we are prepared to understand how the Inquisition, so long as its chief officers find a

chamber in which to work, whether in Rome or elsewhere, can exert a powerful authority over the Romish congregations throughout the world. To illustrate this very important matter, it will be sufficient to exhibit the inquisitorial sentence which imposed silence on the disputants in that famous quarrel.

In a general congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, holden in the Quirinal on January 28th, 1694, before Innocent XII. and the Cardinals Inquisitors, their Eminences decreed,—“That concerning the five propositions of the book of Cornelius Jansenius, condemned by a formula, with sanction of Alexander VII., no one should thenceforth dispute.” Silence, in regard to a dispute that was agitated with vehemence by both parties, was peremptorily imposed on all. All the clergy, both secular and regular, and all the laity, were commanded to hush their disputation, and shut up their thoughts in silence, “perpetual silence.” The mandate prohibited all books, tractates, theses, compositions,—all writings on that subject, all writings, whether published incidentally, or under any pretext or occasion. It commanded such writings to be regarded as forbidden, and required that no man should dare to print, or cause to be printed, any books, &c., treating on such subjects. And that this decree might be inviolably and thoroughly observed, it commanded and declared that all who broke it should be deprived of their dignities and offices, of active and passive votes, of power to preach, read, teach, or interpret publicly, &c., &c. And the Roman and Universal Inquisition further “ordered and commanded, that printers acting against this decision should suffer pecuniary and bodily penalties, besides losing their copies of the books.” \*

This was to be binding wherever the clergy could make it so; and the Pope issued a Brief to the Bishops of Belgium, requiring them also to enforce perpetual silence on priests and people. Tongues, indeed, could not be kept still; but the commands were stubbornly reiterated; and among the things forbidden was the reading of the Holy Scriptures in a

\* *Œuvres de Messire Antoine Arnauld*, Paris, 1789, tome xxv., p. 860.

vernacular language, and all other books in the Index prohibited.\* So did France at that time pretend to assert her dignity by suppressing French courts of Inquisition, but incurred lasting disgrace by virtually abandoning the famous Declaration of 1682, and leaving French subjects in France in actual submission to the Supreme Court of Inquisition in Rome.

Of books prohibited, none were more famous than the "Moral Reflections" of Quesnel on the New Testament. To annihilate this masterpiece of moral exposition, Clement XI. launched the Bull *Unigenitus*, (September 8th, 1713,) which the messenger of "the most holy Inquisition" publicly affixed to the gates of St. Peter's, the Palace of the Inquisition, and other accustomed places. But the French clergy manifested a general repugnance to this ostentation of Papal authority, and were encouraged in resisting it by the Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, who bestowed high commendations on the Jansenist notes, and openly countenanced the party.

Clement, burning, he said, with "zeal of God," addressed a stern expostulation (February 26th, 1715) to the Cardinal, whom he rebuked for encouraging the heterodox Reformed in their contumacy, and contrasted the Cardinal's indulgence of propagators of error with the "unconquerable fortitude and immortal glory" of that "most Christian King" whose fury deluged France with blood, and whose reign is marked with everlasting infamy by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Cardinal received the censure with indifference. The Roman Congregation saw with anger how he persisted in his connivance with heresy; and, after an uneasy forbearance through two years, the impatient Pontiff wrote him another letter of entreaty, (March 25th, 1717,) softened, however, as the first had been, with an official "apostolic benediction."

In contempt of those idle benedictions, the Cardinal still persisted. The Congregation of the Holy Office condemned books written against the Bull by the Bishops of Boulogne and Bayonne, and by the Bishop Count of Chalons, peer of

\* *Œuvres de Messire Antoine Arnauld*, Paris, 1789, tome xxv., pp. 362-368.

France; but each time that the notary Bartoli appended his name to a sentence condemnatory, or to an invitation to denounce the readers of those books to the most Holy Office, he only added a fresh charm to the obnoxious writings, greatly advanced the reputation of their authors, and gave decision and permanence to the peculiar character that has distinguished the Canonists, and even the theologians of the Gallican Church.

The Roman Congregation again directed the faithful in France to lay information against such delinquents, and the Inquisitors in Italy were pressinglly instructed to proceed against them according to the style of the Holy Office; and no doubt those Inquisitors were but too ready to do as they were bidden. But, in cool contempt of all their threatenings, the Cardinal de Noailles heartily espoused the cause of his Gallican brethren, and actually issued a Pastoral Instruction, wherein he applauded sentiments put forth by Bossuet, in explicit justification of Quesnel. This drew down upon the Cardinal Archbishop's performance a similar condemnation; (August 12th, 1719;) but the Holy Office could not venture to approach his person. Clement, indeed, had sent a Brief to the Archbishop of Rheims, as Primate of France, commanding him and his suffragans to search out and punish heretics with the utmost rigour of Canon Law; (June 17th, 1717;) but the Inquisition had no tribunal in the kingdom, and the most devoted lieges of the Papacy were unable to second the fruitless intentions of their chief.\* Here, then, the story of the Inquisition, as regards France, may end.

\* *Clementis XI. Opera, Romæ, 1729, i., 1114; ii., 2055-2251.*

## CHAPTER IX.

## SPAIN: ESTABLISHMENT OF A SUPREME COUNCIL.

“BETTER and happier luck for Spain,”—I translate the words of Mariana,\*—“was the establishment in Castile, which took place about this time, of a new and holy tribunal of severe and grave judges, for the purpose of making inquest and chastising heretical pravity and apostasy,—judges other than the bishops, on whose charge and authority this office was anciently incumbent. For this intent the Roman pontiffs gave them authority, and order was given that the princes should help them with their favour and arm. These judges were called Inquisitors, because of the office which they exercised of hunting out and making inquest,—a custom now very general in Italy, France, Germany, and also in the kingdom of Aragon. Castile, henceforth, would not suffer any nation to go beyond her in the desire which she always had to punish such enormous and wicked excesses. We find mention, before this, of some Inquisitors who discharged this function, but not in the manner and force of those who followed them.

“The chief author and instrument of this very salutary grant was the Cardinal of Spain, (Mendoza,) who had seen that, in consequence of the great liberty of past years, and from the mingling of Moors and Jews with Christians in all sorts of conversation and trade, many things went out of order in the kingdom. With that liberty it was impossible that some Christians should not be infected: many more, leaving the religion which they had voluntarily embraced as converts from Judaism, again apostatized, and returned to their old superstition,—an evil which prevailed in Seville more than in any other part. In that city, therefore, secret

\* *Historia General de España*, libro xxiv., capitulo 17.

searches were first made, and they severely punished those whom they found guilty. If their delinquency was considerable, after having kept them long time imprisoned, and after having tormented them, they burnt them. If it was light, they punished the offenders with the perpetual dishonour of their family. Of not a few they confiscated the goods, and condemned them to imprisonment for life. On most of them they put a *sambenito*, which is a sort of scapulary of yellow colour, with a red St. Andrew's cross, that they might go marked among their neighbours, and bear a signal that should affright and scare by the greatness of the punishment and of the disgrace; a plan which experience has shown to be very salutary, although, at first, it seemed very grievous to the natives."

Cardinal Mendoza might have been an instrument of establishing the new tribunal in Spain, but no author was wanted for that work. Pope Gregory IX., fit successor of Innocent III., completed in Spain, as in the county of Toulouse and kingdom of France, the scheme which his uncle Innocent III. began. By a Bull, dated May 26th, 1232, he appointed Dominican friars Inquisitors in Aragon, and forthwith proceeded to confer the same benefit on the kingdoms of Navarre, Castile, and Portugal; Granada being in possession of the Moors. Ten years later, in a Council of Tarragona, the chief technicalities of the Spanish Inquisition were settled. At the invitation of Peter, Archbishop of Tarragona, Raymund of Peñaforte, the Pope's Penitentiary, presided. The definitions of the Council are notable for the determination they evidence to conduct the affairs of the tribunal with entire legal precision and formality. The *vocabulary* was now settled, and one has only to turn to the Council of Tarragona to find the exact meaning of "heretic, believer, suspected, simple, vehement, most vehement, favourer, concealer, receiver, receptacle, defender, abettor, relapsed." A few rules were laid down, and some of the forms prescribed which I have recited in preceding chapters, as afterwards employed in official practice.\*

As I have noted from Mariana, and as every one may

\* *Conc. Tarraconense*, A.D. 1242.



know, no inconsiderable part of the Spanish population consisted of Jews, many of whose ancestors had taken refuge in that country, or had settled there, for purposes of commerce, ages before the birth of our Lord; and their number had been increased from time to time, in consequence of imperial edicts, which drove them from Italy, or by the attractions of honour and wealth in Spain. They were the most industrious, and therefore the most wealthy, people in those kingdoms, and had possessed great influence. Their learned men occupied important stations as physicians, agents of government, and even officers of state; while the "New Christians," or Jews professedly converted to Christianity, were intermarried with the highest families in Spain; and all this had taken place in spite of the enmity of the clergy, popular bigotry, and the adverse legislation of Cortes or Parliaments. But the wealth which procured Jews and New Christians so much worldly influence, became the occasion of great suffering. The "Old Christians," being less industrious, and therefore less affluent, were frequently their debtors. And although usury was checked by legislators, who dreaded its pressure on themselves, and debts were often repudiated, the Jews maintained their position of creditors; and, as the *Cartilla* says, creditors are often unreasonable persons, or, at least, are considered to be such. Christians of pure blood, therefore, finding themselves involved in long reckonings, became increasingly impatient, and, under a cloak of zeal for the Catholic religion, were incessantly embroiling them with the magistracy, or stirring up the populace against them.

Llorente estimates the number of Jews who perished under the fury of mobs, in the year 1391, at upwards of one hundred thousand. To evade persecution, multitudes submitted to be baptized. More than a million had changed name at the end of the fourteenth century. After those tumults, controversial preachers, such as San Vicente Ferrer, declaimed for Popery against Judaism; and in the first ten years of the fifteenth century, a second multitude of forced converts threw themselves into the bosom of the Church, to the discouragement of their brethren, and to their own confusion at last. They were set under the

keenest vigilance of the Inquisitors, without being able even to counterfeit any attachment to the Church whose most grievous yoke they had put on, but which in heart they hated.

Now the Church gloried over the declension of Judaism. In presence of Benedict XIII., Antipope, a Spaniard, wandering in Spain, because in Rome they would not own him, a formal disputation was carried on for sixty-nine days between Jerome of Santa Fé, and other converts, (or, as the Jews not improperly called them, apostates,) on the one side, and a company of rabbis on the other. Such a controversy, carried on in the presence of even a half-Pope, could only come to the prescribed conclusion ; and after seeing persuasion and corruption exhausted to bring over the Hebrews to his sect, but without much success, Benedict abruptly closed the debate, pronounced the Jews vanquished, and gave them notice of severer measures. The richer from interest, the poorer from bigotry, and the priesthood from instinct, poured contempt even on proselytes, whom they classified according to their supposed degrees of heterodoxy. Some were called *Converts*, to note the newness of their Christianity ; others, *Confessed*, to tell that they had confessed the falseness of Judaism. Sometimes they were branded as *Marranos*, from the words *marán athá*, which the priests, in their ignorance, took to mean *accursed*. The whole were spoken of as a generation of *Marranos*, or, worst of all, in the imagination of a Papist, *Jews*. Goaded by the cowardly persecution, the proselytes groaned after deliverance ; a few even dared to renounce the profession of a faith they never held, and many resumed the practice of Jewish rites in private. This opened a new field to the zeal of the Inquisitors ; but the labour of suppressing a revolt so widely spread, so rapidly extending, and even infecting the Romish families with whom the unsound converts were united, was more than the Inquisitors could undertake without a more powerfully-organized system of their own.

At this juncture Ferdinand and Isabella made progress in reconquering the kingdom of Granada from the Moors ; and as Mohammedanism, like Judaism, declined, the Moriscoes, a middle class, resembling the New Christians, and not less

dangerous to Romanism, also challenged the powers of the Inquisitors. No other country in Popedom was at that time more deeply imbued with disaffection to the doctrines and worship of the Church of Rome.

Then (A.D. 1477) one Brother Philip de' Barberi, a Sicilian Inquisitor, came to the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, who were sovereigns of Sicily, to solicit the confirmation of some privileges recently granted to the Holy Office in that island; and having observed the peril of the Church within the enlarged and united dominions of "the Catholic Kings" under whose rule nearly all Spain was comprehended, advised the creation of one undivided Court of Inquisition, like that of Sicily, as the only means of deliverance from the Marranos, Moriscoes, Jews, and Mussulmans.

The advice was quickly taken. First of all, the Dominicans, and after them the dignitaries of the secular clergy, crowded round the throne to pray for a reformation of the Inquisition after the Sicilian model. They appealed to the greed of King Ferdinand, by offering him the proceeds of confiscation, which would be rapidly effected, in pursuance of laws of the Church to that intent provided. They appealed to the piety of Queen Isabella, and were careful that tales of Jewish murders and Jewish desecrations should be poured incessantly into the royal ear. Ferdinand had no scruple. He sincerely prayed the Pope to sanction such a measure; and, swiftly as couriers could bring it, came the desired Bull. Isabella could not blame the zeal of priests and monks; for she, too, was a zealot. She could not gainsay the urgency of the Nuncio. She could not quench, in her husband's bosom, the thirst of gold. But she had brought half the kingdom as her dower; and therefore some deference was due to her conscience and judgment, and both in conscience and judgment she desired gentler measures. During two or three years her orator and confessor wrote books, and preachers were permitted to publish arguments, and disputants to enter into conferences, for the conviction of the Jews.

At Her Majesty's request, Cardinal Mendoza issued a Constitution in Seville, (A.D. 1478,) containing "the form that should be observed with a Christian, from the day of his birth, as well in the sacrament of baptism as in all other

sacraments which he ought to receive, and of what he should be taught, and ought to do and believe as a faithful Christian, every day, and at all times of his life, until the day of his death. And he ordered this to be published in all the churches of the city, and put in tables in each parish, as a settled constitution. And also of what curates and clerks should teach their parishioners, and what the parishioners should observe and show to their children." Thus does Hernando del Pulgar, in his Chronicle of the Catholic Sovereigns, describe what some too hastily call a Catechism. It was merely a standard of things to be believed and done, set forth by authority. The King and Queen also, *not the Cardinal*, commanded "some friars, clerks, and other religious persons, to teach the people." But no true Jew would let himself be taught that idolatry is not damnable; and even the more hopeful issues of controversy with the vacillating or the ignorant were not faithfully reported.

The Constitution of Cardinal Mendoza, and the harangues of the friars, were ineffectual: as well they might be; for the Jews knew that the Christians had a sacred book, said to be written by Divine inspiration as well as the Law of Moses; and if that book was not put into their hands, they could scarcely be expected to believe a religion whose chief written authority was kept out of sight. That it was indeed kept out of sight is undeniable; and the notorious Alfonso de Castro, chaplain of Philip II., boasted, in his book against heresies, that there was "an edict of the most illustrious and Catholic Sovereigns of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, in which, under the severest penalties, they forbade any one to translate the Holy Scriptures into a vulgar language, or to have any such version in his possession. For they were afraid lest any occasion of error should be given to the people over whom God had made them governors." \* The clergy maintained that conversion by argument was impossible; and, at their instance, the Bull was no longer kept in reserve, but published in 1480.

The Queen's trial of humanity was ended; but a question of policy remained. The King and Queen remembered that

\* *F. Alfonsi de Castro Zamorensis, Adv. omnes Hæreses, Venet., 1546, lib i., p. 144.*

they had an interest in Spain as well as the Pope; but they scarcely knew how that interest could be guarded, if the Inquisitors were allowed absolute power over the persons and property of their subjects. To have proposed lay assessors and open court would have provoked a quarrel with the Pope, then powerful enough to raise Europe in arms against them: therefore they modestly requested no more than that some priests nominated by the King should be associated with some others nominated by the Pope; or that the King should name all, and the Pope confirm his nomination. The "Catholic Sovereigns" calculated that nominees of Rome would, of course, prefer the rights of the Church to those of the Crown; but they fancied, or they wished to fancy, that priests of their own choice would prefer their interests to those of a stranger. This was an illusion, and therefore Rome made little difficulty; and after due correspondence, and some changes, the Supreme Council of the Spanish Inquisition was constituted thus:—

*Inquisitor-General.* Friar Tomás de Torquemada: of whom Llorente says that it was hardly possible that there could have been another man so capable of fulfilling the intentions of King Ferdinand, by multiplying confiscations; those of the Court of Rome, by propagating their jurisdictional and pecuniary maxims; and those of the projectors of the Inquisition, by infusing terror into the people by public executions.

*Two Assessors.* Juan Gutierrez de Chabes and Tristan de Medina, jurisconsults.

*Three King's Counsellors.* Don Alonso Carillo, a bishop elect, with Sancho Velasquez de Cuellar and Poncio de Valencia, doctors of Civil Law. In matters relating to royal power they were to have a definite vote; but in affairs of spiritual jurisdiction they could only be suffered to offer an opinion, inasmuch as all spiritual power resided in the chief Inquisitor alone.

Under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council were four subordinate tribunals, and, eventually, several others were added; while some Inquisitors, by holding special powers from the Pope, were stripped of their independence, that the Court of Rome might have one uniform action throughout

Spain. As the Holy Office advanced in labours and experience, the Supreme Council was enlarged; and at last it consisted of a president (Inquisitor-General for the time being); six counsellors with the title of apostolic; a fiscal; a secretary of the chamber; two secretaries of the council; an alguacil-in-chief, or sheriff; one receiver; two reporters; four apparitors; one solicitor; and as many consulters as circumstances might require. Of course, these were all maintained in a style worthy of their office. The Inquisitor-General, or president of the council, exerted an absolute power over every Spanish subject, so that he almost ceased to be himself a subject. He alone consulted with the King concerning the appointment of Inquisitors to preside over all the provincial tribunals. Each of those inferior Inquisitions was managed by three Inquisitors, two secretaries, one under-sheriff, one receiver, and a certain number of triers and consulters. Their functions were considerably restricted, leaving all capital cases and ultimate decisions in the hands of the Madrid "Supreme."

## CHAPTER X.

## SPAIN: EARLY TRIUMPHS.

BUT while Ferdinand, Isabella, Torquemada, and the Nuncio were concerting their plans, and preparing death for heretics, what said Spain to it?

Neither were clergy nor laity content. After the Bull of Xystus IV., empowering the King to name Inquisitors furnished with absolute authority, and to remove them at pleasure, had arrived, but lay unpublished in consequence of the Queen's repugnance, a provincial Synod sat at Seville, where the Court then was. (A.D. 1478.) Had Castile desired the Inquisition, the Deputies would have said so; but so far were they from approving of such a tribunal, to which every bishop would be subject, but where no bishop would any longer have a voice, that they passed over the affair of heresy in silence, not consenting to accept the Inquisition, yet not presuming to remonstrate. Then would have been the time for them to add their power to that of the throne for the suppression of false doctrine; and so they would probably have done, if Inquisitor and bishop were to have co-ordinate jurisdiction, as in the first Inquisition of Toulouse; but they saw, with alarm, that the episcopate was, at a stroke, despoiled of its authority.

A few months before the publication of the Bull, but long after every person in Spain knew the purport of its contents, and certainty that it would be carried into execution, the Cortes of Toledo met; but, instead of avoiding any act that would interfere with the jurisdiction then to be introduced, they made several provisions for separating Jews and Christians, by the enclosure of Jewries in the towns, and for compelling the former to wear a peculiar garb, and abstain from exercising the vocation of surgeon, physician, innkeeper,

barber, or apothecary, among Christians. The Parliament plainly ignored the Inquisition in making this enactment.

And what said the magistracy and the people? Seville represented the general state of feeling at the time. There, when a company of Inquisitors presented themselves, conducted by men and horses which had been impressed for the purpose by royal order, the civil authorities refused to help them, notwithstanding the injunctions of the Bull, the obligations of Canon Law, and a mandate from the Crown. The new Inquisitors found themselves unable to act, for want of help; the objects of their mission forsook the city, and found shelter in the neighbouring districts; and Ferdinand had to issue specific orders, to counteract the hostility of all classes, and to compel the magistrates to assist the new Inquisitors. These orders were obeyed.

Thus fortified, they took up their abode in the Dominican convent of St. Paul, and issued their first mandate (January 2d, 1480). They said that they were aware of the flight of the New Christians; and commanded the Marquis of Cadiz, the Count of Arcos, and all the dukes, marquises, counts, gentlemen, rich men, and others, of the kingdom of Castile, to arrest the fugitives, and send them to Seville within a fortnight, sequestering their property. All who failed to do this were to be excommunicated as abettors of heresy, deposed from their dignities, and deprived of their estates; and their subjects were to be absolved from homage and obedience. Crowds of fugitives were driven back into Seville, bound like felons; the dungeons and apartments of the convent overflowed with prisoners; and the King assigned the castle of Triana, on the opposite bank of the Guadalquivir, to the "New and Holy Tribunal," to be a place of safe custody. There the Inquisitors, elate with triumph over the reluctant magistrates and panic-stricken people, shortly afterwards erected a tablet, with an inscription, in memory of the first establishment of the modern Inquisition in western Europe. The concluding sentences of the inscription were: "God grant that, for the protection and augmentation of the faith, it may abide unto the end of time!—Arise, O Lord, judge Thy cause!—Catch ye the foxes!"

Their second edict was one of "grace." It summoned all



who had apostatized to present themselves before the Inquisitors within a term appointed, promising that all who did so, with true contrition and purpose of amendment, should be exempted from confiscation of their property,—it was understood that they would be punished in some other way; but threatening that if they allowed that term to pass over without repentance, they should be dealt with according to the utmost rigour of the law. Many ran to the convent of St. Paul, hoping to merit some small measure of indulgence. But the Inquisitors would not absolve them until they had disclosed the names, calling, residence, and description of all others whom they had seen, heard, or understood to have apostatized in like manner. And, after getting this information, they bound them to secrecy.

This first object being accomplished, they sent out a third monition, requiring all who knew any that had apostatized into the Jewish heresy, to inform against them within six days, under the usual penalties. But they had already marked the men; and those suspected converts suddenly saw the apparitors inside their houses, and were dragged away to the dungeons. New Christians who had preserved any of the familiar usages of their forefathers, such as putting on clean clothes on Saturdays, who stripped the fat from beef or mutton, who killed poultry with a sharp knife, covered the blood, and muttered a few Hebrew words, who had eaten flesh in Lent, blessed their children, laying hands on their heads, who observed any peculiarity of diet, or distinction of feast or fast, mourned for the dead after their ancient manner, or whose friends had presumed to turn the face towards a wall when in the agony of death;—all such were suspected of apostasy, and to be punished accordingly. Thirty-six elaborate articles were furnished, whereby every one was instructed how to ensnare his neighbour.

But what shall we say of a faith that could only hope to be kept alive in the world by the extinction of charity, honour, pity, and humanity? Llorente describes the immediate issue.

“Such opportune measures for multiplying victims could not but produce the desired effect. Hence, on the 6th of January, 1481, there were burnt six unhappy persons;

sixteen on the 26th of March ; many on the 21st of April ; and, by the 4th of November, two hundred and ninety-eight in all. Besides these, the Inquisitors condemned seventy-nine to perpetual imprisonment. And all this in the city of Seville only ; since, as regards the territories of this archbishopric and of the bishopric of Cadiz, Juan de Mariana says that, in the single year of 1481, two thousand Judaizers were burnt in person, and very many in effigy, of whom the number is not known, besides seventeen thousand subjected to penance. Among those burnt were many principal persons and rich inhabitants, whose property went into the treasury.

“ As so many persons were to be put to death by fire, the Governor of Seville caused a permanent raised pavement, or platform of masonry, to be constructed outside the city, which has lasted to our time,” (until the French invasion, if not later,) “ retaining its name of *Quemadero*, or Burning-place ; and at the four corners four large hollow statues of limestone, within which they used to place the impenitent alive, that they might die by slow fires. I leave my readers to consider whether this punishment of an error of the understanding was consistent or not with the doctrine of the Gospel.

“ Fear caused an immense multitude of others of the same class of New Christians to emigrate to France, Portugal, and even Africa. But many others, whose effigies had been burnt, appealed to Rome, complaining of the injustice of those proceedings ; in consequence of which appeals, the Pope wrote, on the 29th of January, 1482, to Ferdinand and Isabella, saying that there were innumerable complaints against the Inquisitors, Fray Miguel Morillo and Fray Juan de San Martin especially, because they had not confined themselves to Canon Law, but declared many to be heretics that were not. His Holiness said that, but for the royal nomination, he would have deprived them of their office ; but that he revoked the power he had given to the Sovereign to nominate others, supposing that fit persons would be found among those nominated by the General or the Provincial of the Dominicans, to whom the privilege belonged, and in prejudice of whose privilege the former nomination by Ferdinand and Isabella had been allowed.”

So adroitly did the Pope take the absolute control of the Inquisition into his own hands, and leave the cheated tyrant to eat the fruit of his doings. But since that time, Pope and King have been again united in the management of the Holy Office; the latter, however, in subservience to the former.

Neither in the appeals nor in the Brief was there anything that could divert Torquemada from the prosecution of his purposes; and therefore he hastened to bring Aragon under his jurisdiction. Ferdinand convened the Cortes of that kingdom in the city of Tarragona; (April, 1484;) in that assembly appointed a *junta* to prepare measures for the establishment of another tribunal; and then Torquemada, in pursuance of the latest pontifical decision, created Friar Gaspar Inglar, a preacher of the Dominican community, and Doctor Pedro Arbues de Epila, a canon of the metropolitan church, Inquisitors. The King gave a mandate to the civil authorities,—a firman, it might be called,—compelling them to lend aid to the new officers; and on the 13th of September following, the grand justice of Aragon, with his five lieutenants of the long robe, and various other magistrates, swore upon the Holy Gospels that they would give men and arms to defend and to enforce the authority of the Holy Inquisition. And as they swore thus, the King's chief secretary for Aragon, the protonotary, the vice-chancellor, the royal treasurer, (whose own father and grandfather were Jews, and persecuted by the old Inquisitors,) together with a multitude of persons of high rank and office, in whose veins flowed Jewish blood, and whose descendants are now among the first families in Spain, looked on with dismay, and sent a deputation to Rome, bearing remonstrance against the newly-created Inquisition; and deputed others to present their appeal to the same effect at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. All these deputies were afterwards proceeded against as hinderers of the Holy Office; and meanwhile the Inquisitors, heedless of opposition, set themselves to work without delay.

In the months of May and June, 1485, two Acts of Faith were celebrated in Zaragoza, capital of Aragon, and a large number of New Christians burnt alive. The public was enraged, certainly, but helpless; yet not so helpless but

that many thought that since the Inquisitors had resorted to terror for the conservation of the faith, terror ought also to restrain them in their turn.

In the night of September 14th, 1485, one of the Inquisitors, Pedro Arbues, covered, as usual, with a coat-of-mail under his robes, and wearing a steel skull-cap under his hat, (for he was every moment conscious of guilt, and apprehensive of retribution,) took a lantern in one hand, and a bludgeon in the other; and, like a brave soldier of his peculiar Church, walked from his house to the cathedral of that same Zaragoza, to join in matins. He knelt down by one of the pillars, setting his lantern on the pavement. His right hand held the weapon of defence, yet stealthily, half-covered with the cloak. The canons, in their places, were chanting the hymns. Two men came and knelt down near him. They understood, as most Spaniards do, how most effectually to attack a man, and how to kill him quickest. Therefore one of them suddenly disabled him on one side by a blow on the left arm. The other swung his cudgel at the back of the head, just below the edge of the steel cap, and laid him prone. He never spoke again, but expired in a few hours. The murder, however, was well utilized by the priests, serving them to plead the necessity of an Inquisition to repress violence; and the inhabitants of the city were instantly overawed by a display of high judicial authority which they were not in a position to resist.

Queen Isabella, horrified at the murder of her confessor, (for "Confessor of the Kings" was an honorary dignity conferred on each Inquisitor in Spain,) erected a monument to his memory at her own expense; and when the murders perpetrated by Arbues himself had somewhat faded out of public memory, he was beatified at Rome, and a chapel was constructed for his veneration in the church where he had fallen. Therein his remains were laid; and over the spot where he received the mortal blow a stone was placed, with the inscription:—" *Siste, viator, &c.* Stay, traveller! Thou adorest the place (*locum adoras*) where the blessed Pedro de Arbues was laid low by two missiles. Epila gave him birth. This city gave him a canonry. The Apostolic See elected him to be the first Father Inquisitor of the Faith. Because

of his zeal he became hateful to the Jews ; by whom slain, he fell here a martyr in the year 1485. The most serene Ferdinand and Isabella reared a marble mausoleum, where he became famous for miracles. Alexander VII., *Pontifex Maximus*, wrote him into the number of holy and blessed martyrs on the 17th day of April in the year 1664. The tomb having been opened, the sacred ashes were translated, and placed under the altar of the chapel, (built by the chapter, with the material of the tomb, in the space of sixty-five days,) with solemn rite and veneration, on the 23d day of September, in the year 1664."

Pius IX., within the last few months,—I write in April, 1867,—has canonized this Inquisitor ; and in two months hence, if such an assemblage be then possible, he has summoned all bishops who can leave their sees to come to Rome, and pay the first act of worship to him and six other worthies, new-made saints.\*

The intelligence of this murder threw all Aragon into commotion. The powers, ecclesiastical and royal, panted for vengeance, and put the murderers to a most painful death. The Jews and New Christians trembled with terror and with rage. The inhabitants of many towns, Teruel, Valencia, Lerida, and Barcelona included, compelled the Inquisitors to cease from inquest ; and it was only by means of military force, after Edicts and Bulls had failed, that the King and Pope put an end to two years' public resistance. In Zaragoza, where the murder had been contrived by a party of chief inhabitants, a consciousness of guilt weakened their hands, and they endeavoured to save themselves by flight. Thousands of people fled from the city, although they had no participation in the deed, and were everywhere treated as rebels ; and in that migration incidents occurred which might throw a tint of romance on our history. Let me briefly mention two.

An inhabitant of Zaragoza found his way to Tudela, and

\* This has been done. A larger number of saints than was at first advertised has been added to the Calendar. The ceremonial was extremely magnificent ; but there was little enthusiasm displayed on the occasion beyond the precinct of St. Peter's. Murmurs of contempt and derision were heard throughout the new kingdom of united Italy.

there begged for shelter and concealment in the house of Don Jaime, Infante of Navarre, legitimate son of the Queen of Navarre, and nephew of King Ferdinand himself. The Infante could not refuse asylum and hospitality to an innocent fugitive. He allowed the man to hide himself for a few days, and then pass on to France. For this act of humanity Don Jaime was arrested by the Inquisitors, thrown into prison as an impeder of the Holy Office, brought thence to Zaragoza, a place quite beyond the jurisdiction of Navarre, and there made to do open penance in the cathedral, in presence of a great congregation at high mass. And what penance! The Archbishop of Zaragoza presided; but this Archbishop was a boy of seventeen, an illegitimate son of the King; and he it was that commanded two priests to flog his father's lawful nephew, the Infante of Navarre, with rods. They whipped him round the church accordingly.

The other case was diabolical. Gaspar de Santa Cruz escaped to Toulouse, where he died, and was buried, after his effigy had been burnt in Zaragoza. In this city lived a son of his, who, as in duty bound, had helped him to make good his retreat. This son was delated as an impeder of the Holy Office, arrested, brought out at an Act of Faith, made to read a condemnation of his deceased father, and then sent to the Inquisitor at Toulouse, who took him to his father's grave, and compelled him to dig up the corpse, and burn it with his own hands. Whether the Inquisitors were most barbarous, or the young man most vile, it may be difficult to say. But it is a most infamous glory of the Inquisition, that, in comparison with its own requirements, the laws of God and men are nought.

The Arch-Inquisitor of Spain, shortly after his accession to the office, summoned the subalterns from their stations to meet him at Seville, and framed, with them, a set of instructions for uniform administration. These were published, twenty-eight in number, on October 29th, 1484. On January 9th, 1485, eleven more were added. The spirit of these instructions pervades the Directory of Eymeric, into which they were incorporated by his commentator, and they have already passed under our view. It is only important to mention here, that on the present occasion an agent was

appointed to represent this Inquisition at Rome, and there to defend the Inquisitors on occasion of appeals from the subjects of inquisitorial violence, or from their friends or their survivors. And this was in spite of a Bull sent into Spain two years before, appointing the Archbishop of Seville sole judge of such appeals. But that Bull was never acted on at Rome.

We must mark this point in the history; forasmuch as here begins the practically juridical relation between the Court of Rome, as supreme, and the provinces of the Romish Church, in matters concerning inquisition. More, much more, of this hereafter; but let it now suffice to say that, during thirty years after the establishment of the modern Inquisition in Spain, every one who could effect an appeal to Rome, either by memorial or in person, and who paid for the dispatch of Briefs, obtained the indulgence or the exemption he desired, until an opposite party came after him, and purchased a contrary decision. In this way the King, the Inquisitors, and the New Christians, all bought, and all were cheated; but money flowed into the Datary, and that was enough to satisfy the fathers of the faithful.

## CHAPTER XI.

### SPAIN : EXPULSION OF THE JEWS.

THE first resistance having been overcome in Aragon, and the new discipline of inquest and execution being fully organized in that kingdom, it gained a position of unexampled influence in the general government of Spain, and impressed a singular character on the subsequent history of the nation. We will glance at its dealings with the Jews.

The so-called Catholic Sovereigns have conquered the Moors everywhere, Granada alone excepted. Their army is laying siege to that noble city. The inhabitants know that resistance is hopeless, and send out a flag of truce. Hostilities are to be suspended for sixty days. The chief men of Granada come into the royal camp, and are encouraged to propose terms of capitulation. Their demands are large for a conquered people to make at the close of a hard campaign; but the Spaniards are tired of battles, and resolve to grant almost any terms, trusting to the chance of events for what cannot be now obtained without wearisome negotiation, or continued war. They agree to give this brave remnant of the Saracens a tract of country towards the sea-board, known as the Alpujarra, to be occupied by them as crown land, on very easy conditions,—a handsome weight of gold, a general amnesty, and special privileges to the Moorish King, Abdilehi, and his family. As many as choose are to quit the city, with all their property, except fire-arms and ammunition. Further articles, to be hereafter settled, will be ratified on delivery of the Alhambra, and other fortifications, to Ferdinand and his garrison.

These articles are prepared with careful deliberation during forty days, with every possible appearance of good faith on the part of the Spaniards. If they are honestly



fulfilled, the Moors will be a free people, dwelling unmolested in the hilly tract assigned to them, with its twelve towns. In Granada and the suburbs they will remain peaceably, cultivating the gardens in their own inimitable manner, and shall not suffer any badge of infamy, nor the least mark of disrespect. They will have their own laws, customs, and religion. But on this point an historian of the Inquisition must be explicit, and recite the two articles which seem, most of all, to guarantee them shelter from persecution. I translate them closely from the very words of the treaty, as recorded by Marmol.

“That it shall not be permitted that any person, either by word or deed, ill-treat Christian men, or Christian women, who have turned Moors before these capitulations. And that, if any Moor shall have married any renegade woman, she shall not be forced to be a Christian against her will, but shall be interrogated in presence of Christians and Moors, and follow her own pleasure. And the same shall be observed as to boys and girls born of a Christian woman and a Moorish husband.

“That no Moor, either man or woman, shall be forced to become a Christian; and if any young woman, or wife, or widow shall wish to turn Christian, for the sake of any attachment she may have, she shall not be received until she has been questioned; and if she has taken any property, or jewelry, from the house of her parents, or from any other place, it shall be restored to its owner, and the guilty parties shall be punished.”

On the day appointed, (January 2d, 1492,) the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, Don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, puts himself at the head of a strong force, with some pieces of artillery, and marches into Granada, to take possession of the Alhambra. Ferdinand and Isabella follow afar off, leading the main body of the army. The vanquished Abdilehi meets Mendoza, bids him take possession of those fortifications for the mighty sovereigns to whom God has given them for the sins of the Moors; and then, turning his back upon them, goes away, sorrowful and unarmed, to deliver himself to his conquerors. Isabella has halted at a distance, but within view of the citadel, where she cannot yet see the

Spanish flag. Abdilehi and her husband meet, and she fears some treason or some reverse, and trembles with suspense amidst her priests, who are not much more courageous than their mistress. At length she sees the army move toward the gates, covering the hill-side as they march up. When they enter, the Crescent falls, and the standard of Castilla and Leon, surmounted by a silver cross, is hoisted. Granada is theirs. The war is over ; the pagans are under foot. The whole chapel strikes out a loud chant, and one *Te Deum* suffices for thanksgiving.

Now is dissimulation no longer needed ; and, notwithstanding their treaty above cited, they instantly appoint one Fray Hernando de Talavera to be Archbishop of Granada, a city without so much as one Christian inhabitant. So does this new Archbishop march in with the troops, and apply himself to the work of converting the Moors. His first measure is to make himself agreeable ; and in a very short time, not yet mentioning doctrine to the inhabitants, his charities and affability have so won their good opinion, that they pay him great reverence, and call him the chief Alfaqui of the Christians. By this time, indeed, the said Christians have crowded into Granada, and mass is sung with high significance. Still, we must do Fray Hernando the justice of saying, that he is a humane and, so far as possible in circumstances, a reasonable man.

Now begins the action of the Inquisition on a great scale indeed, yet not on the Moors first.

It is very remarkable that, by one article of the capitulation of Granada, every Jew found in the city on its occupation by the Spaniards was to be shipped away to Barbary, if he did not become a Christian within three years. This shows that expulsion of the Jews must have entered into the counsels of Ferdinand and Isabella, with their priests, before this time, although none of the Jews appear to have had the least suspicion of any design to ruin them beyond the ordinary course of persecution.

Jewish armourers were, at that very moment, working in the camp. Jewish victuallers provided the daily rations. Jewish brokers advanced money to pay the troops. It is by no means unlikely that they were Jews who raised the gold

which Ferdinand and his Queen had bargained to give the Moorish King. And it is indisputable that, but for the assistance of that people, in the absence of any efficient system of national finance in Christian Spain, Granada could never have been conquered.

But there could be no good faith while an Inquisitor-General ruled the royal conscience. Torquemada followed the Court; and, as the King's confessor, may have heard the King's aspirations after wealth, and understood his unwillingness—inability, perhaps—to pay his debts. The zeal of the Inquisitor, and the dishonesty of the King, most opportunely harmonized; and it only remained for them to contrive some scheme whereby both passions might be satisfied. Such a scheme could be had by wishing. Some monks collected a report that some Jews had stolen a consecrated host, with intention to kill a Christian child, make the host into paste with his warm blood, and thereby poison the Inquisitors. It was reported that some particles of a crumbled wafer had found their way into a synagogue, and got between the leaves of a Hebrew Prayer-Book. Some one said that he saw the substance emit a bright light; and, conjecturing from that signal that the crime of sacrilege had been perpetrated, made his thoughts known to a priest. The Jews' guilt being thus miraculously brought to light, certain priests and monks remembered that those rich and serviceable Israelites had been wont to commit sacrilege and murder from spite to the Christians; and numerous tales of the kind resounded in the palace of the Alhambra, where the victorious, but scarcely solvent, sovereigns resided. Torquemada gave judgment, that they ought to cleanse the soil of Spain from so vile a race; and they accordingly issued an edict from Granada, dated less than three months after the day of occupation, (March 30th, 1492,) to banish the entire people out of all Spain, excepting only such as might choose to surrender their faith, and retain their homes in reward of their apostasy.\*

\* If Romanism were Christianity, and not idolatry, and if the transition to it from the synagogue were voluntary, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, that change would be *conversion*, causing joy in the presence of the angels of God. But, in the contrary case before us, the renunciation of Judaism would deserve no better name than that given to it in the text.

The edict is long, but its contents may be shortly stated. Their Highnesses were informed that the Jews had been perverting Christians by their superstition; and seeing that neither separation of them in the Jewries from the population, nor even examples of death by fire, under sentence after inquisition,—nor yet impaling others alive, they might have added,—had restrained them from their attempts to overturn the Christianity of Spain, they resolved on a final and effectual remedy. They did not imagine that all the Jews were guilty; but they conceived that when any detestable crime was committed by some members of a college or university, (*community*,) that college or university should be dissolved and annihilated. Therefore they commanded all Jews and Jewesses to quit their kingdoms, and never to return, not even for a passing visit, under penalty of death. The last day of July was to be the last of their dwelling in the country; and after that day any person, of what rank soever, who should presume to receive, shelter, protect, or defend a Jew or Jewess, was to forfeit all his property, and be discharged from his office, dignity, or calling. During those four months, the Jews might sell their estates, or barter them for heavy goods; but they were not to take away “gold, silver, money, or other articles prohibited by the laws of the kingdom” from exportation.

The decree of Ahasuerus was not more terrible; and scarcely could the mourning, and weeping, and wailing heard throughout the provinces of Persia have surpassed those of the Spanish Jews. They cried aloud for mercy, and offered to submit to any law, however oppressive, if they might remain in their beloved country.

Rabbi Abarhanel, whose name is familiar to every Hebrew scholar, a reputed descendant of the family of Judah, a man who had enjoyed the confidence of successive sovereigns, whom Ferdinand and Isabella had summoned to their court eight years before, and whose services availed them largely while he farmed the royal revenue,—this aged Hebrew found his way into the Alhambra, knelt before them weeping, implored pity on his nation, and offered to lay down as ransom six hundred thousand crowns of gold. Again he

returned ; and, to use his own words,\* “ I wearied myself to distraction in imploring compassion. Thrice on my knees I besought the King : ‘ Regard us, O King ! use not thy servants so cruelly. Why do thus to thy servants ? Rather exact from us our gold and silver, even all that the house of Israel possesses, if he may remain in his country.’ I likewise entreated my friends, the King’s officers, to allay his anger against my people. I implored the councillors to advise the King to repeal the decree. But as the adder closes its ear with dust against the voice of the charmer, so the King hardened his heart against the entreaties of his supplicants, and declared that he would not revoke his edict for all the wealth of the Jews. *The Queen at his right hand opposed it*, and urged him to continue what he had begun. We exhausted all our power for the repeal of the King’s sentence ; but there was neither wisdom nor help remaining.”

The truth is, that those offers and intercessions had nearly prevailed. Fourteen years before, indeed, the Queen had tried to convert the Jews by gentle measures ; but they could not be argued into Popery, and now her heart is hardened against them : but the King was calculating whether he had not better accept the ready money, instead of trusting to get a share in the profits of the other scheme, which would be squandered among many claimants. But the First Inquisitor ended his hesitation in a moment. Torquemada rushed into a room where the King and Queen were sitting, held up a crucifix, and shouted, at the top of his voice, “ Judas sold the Son of God once for thirty pieces of silver : your Highnesses are going to sell Him the second time for thirty thousand. Here He is ! Here you have Him ! Sell Him, if you will ! ” And then the audacious friar flung the crucifix on the table before them, and bolted away in a rage. As for their Highnesses, the full weight of Papal indignation seemed to hang over them, and Abarbanel and his friends were put to silence. Here, indeed, the tribunal did not act ; but its head and its members acted ; or, which is the same thing, engaged their sovereigns to act instead of them.

\* Translated by Mr. Lindo, in his very valuable “ History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal.”

The expulsion of the Jews, therefore, must not be overlooked, as if it were not a deed of the Inquisition.

Having so far prevailed, Torquemada made the most of his opportunity. He sent preachers through the country to convert the Jews, and published an edict, offering baptism and reconciliation; but very few submitted. He forbade his Christians to hold any intercourse with them after the month of April, or to supply them with food, shelter, or any necessary. A contemporary and eye-witness, quoted by Lindo,\* describes their condition at this time. "Within the term fixed by the edict, the Jews sold and disposed of their property for a mere nothing. They went about begging Christians to buy, but found no purchasers. Fine houses and estates were sold for trifles. A house was exchanged for an ass, and a vineyard given for a little cloth or linen. Although forbidden to carry away gold and silver, they secretly took large quantities in their saddles, and in the halters and harness of their loaded beasts. Some swallowed as many as thirty ducats, to avoid the rigorous search made at the frontier-towns and seaports by the officers appointed for the purpose. The rich Jews defrayed the expenses of the departure of the poor, practising towards each other the greatest charity; so that, except very few of the most necessitous, they would not become converts. In the first week of July they took the route for quitting their native land, great and small, old and young. They travelled on foot, on horses, on asses, in carts; each continuing his journey towards his destined port. They experienced great trouble, and suffered indescribable misfortunes on the roads and country they travelled; some falling, others rising; some dying, others coming into the world; some fainting, others attacked with illness; so that there was not a Christian that did not feel for them, and entreat them to be baptized. Some, through misery, professed to be converted; but these were very few. The rabbis encouraged the people, and made the young ones and the women sing, and play on pipes and tabors, to enliven them and keep up their spirits." All their synagogues were left unpurchased, to be turned into mass-houses, without any compensation.

\* Bernaldez, *Chron. MS. de los Reyes Catholicos.*

An emigration of fifteen hundred wealthy families first embarked. Ships were provided at Carthagena, Valencia, Barcelona, Cadiz, Gibraltar, and other ports, to convey them to Africa, Italy, and the Levant; and they carried with them the dialect of the Spanish language, which to this day serves the Jews of those countries as a medium of common intercourse. Some perished at sea by wreck, disease, violence, or fire; and some by famine, exhaustion, or murder on inhospitable shores. Many were sold for slaves; many were thrown overboard by savage captains. Parents sold their children for money to buy food. On board one vessel, full of exiles, a pestilential disease broke out; the captain landed all on a desert island, where they wandered about in quest of assistance. Heart-rending tales were told by the survivors. A mother carrying two infants, walking with her husband, expired on the road. The father, overcome with fatigue, fell fainting near his two children: on recovering his consciousness, he found them dead with hunger. He covered them with sand. "My God!" exclaimed he, "my misfortunes seem to drive me to abandon Thy law; but I am a Jew, and will ever remain so." The crowded vessels carried disease into the port of Naples, where the inhabitants caught it, and about twenty thousand were carried off. When another famishing division reached Genoa, they found the city also suffering from famine, and were met, on landing, by a procession of priests, of whom the foremost carried a crucifix in one hand, and a loaf in the other, to signify that they who would adore the image might have the bread. It pleased the Pope, Alexander VI., to give them a better reception in his States, leaving his more distant servants to do the heavier inquisitorial drudgery, and to bear the more flagrant scandal. Spain impoverished herself in his service by the loss of eight hundred thousand persons, besides many more who had already fled from the Inquisition during ten or twelve years of terror; and the whole had carried away an incalculable amount of wealth.

Having expelled the Jews, Torquemada and his royal servants next turned their attention to the Moors and Moriscoes. But as this prince of Spanish Inquisitors did not live to see the accomplishment of his desire in regard to the

Moors, of whom I have next to speak, we may anticipate the close of his administration of the Inquisition of Castile, not to interrupt the sketch following, and here note the number of his victims, according to the calculation of Llorente, which is quite exclusive of the Jews, and appears to be very moderate, notwithstanding a charge of exaggeration laid against him by certain modern admirers or apologists of the Holy Office.

Burnt at the stake .....	10,220
Burnt in effigy, the persons having died in prison or fled the country .....	6,860
Punished with infamy, confiscation, per- petual imprisonment, or loss of civil rights.....	97,321
<hr/>	
Total.....	114,401

An equal number of families, at least, must have been ruined; and there must have been yet another unrecorded number of persons whose lives were shortened by indigence and grief. Considering the number of his enemies and the badness of his conscience, we do not wonder that, in his latter years, he was preyed upon by terror; and, to preserve himself from assassination, like his brother of Aragon, he never travelled without a body-guard of fifty familiars of the Inquisition mounted as dragoons, and two hundred more marching as foot-soldiers.



## CHAPTER XII.

## SPAIN : EXPULSION OF MOORS AND MORISCOES.

THE persecution and expulsion of recusant Moors and Moriscoes from the kingdom of Granada was entirely the work of the Inquisition. But the action of the tribunal began stealthily, and its method was so adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the new province, that a hasty reader might attribute that to Spanish intolerance, which, in truth, belongs to priests and Inquisitors ; and, although we carefully avoid the general history of persecution, we cannot exclude this part of Spanish history from these pages.

“The Catholic sovereigns” had taken possession of Granada, and, after banishing the Jews, rewarded the vassals to whose arms they were chiefly indebted for the conquest with grants of land, and with offices of trust. They invited to their court persons of high repute for piety, such as it was, and wisdom.

Among the “religious” whom they summoned from their cells to render counsel in affairs of state, the court being in those days a sort of promiscuous and irresponsible cabinet, was Don Fray Hernando de Talavera, whom I have already mentioned. He was a friar professed of the order of St. Jerome, a man of ready wit and extensive information, an eminent preacher, learned in sacred literature and moral philosophy, and reputed to be unblamable in life. For twenty years he had been prior of a monastery near Valladolid, whence Ferdinand and Isabella, induced by the fame of his virtues and talents, called him to their presence, made him one of their confessors, gave him the bishopric of Avila, and took him into their counsels. We mark this man the more carefully, because he appears in favourable contrast with other ecclesiastics of the court. After a large number

of Christians had come to live in Granada, he begged to resign the see of Avila, in order to devote himself to the care of the new Church. His desire was honoured, and Pope Alexander VI. sent him a *pallium*, with the title of Archbishop of Granada. With a revenue much inferior to that of the diocese resigned, he displayed little or no prelatic pomp, and applied himself diligently to the duties of a new charge, and to the conversion of the Moors.

A gentle spirit and spotless life won the veneration of the Moors, from whom he appears to have prudently concealed his purpose of attempting their conversion. Nor did he, so far as we can judge, propose to employ any sort of coercion, but endeavoured to teach them Christianity by the word of God. He caused the Holy Scriptures to be translated into Arabic for their use ; and, although the translation was never printed, it is not improbable that parts of it, at least, were copied for distribution. Mohammedans heard him willingly, meeting him by companies in private houses, where he addressed them through interpreters. Several ecclesiastics applied themselves closely to the study of Arabic, encouraged by the example of their diocesan, who also became a learner in his old age ; and Moors, emulating their industry, committed to memory the Decalogue, the Apostles' Creed, and several prayers. But the zeal that threw him into those labours in Granada, withdrew him from the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, whom counsellors of another spirit entirely governed in matters relating to religion. Torquemada chiefly held their conscience under his direction.

A first stroke of treachery was levelled at the last King of Granada, Zogoybi, " the Unfortunate ;" for so the Moors now call Abdilehi, who was retired on the estates allotted to him in the Alpujarra. After living there peaceably for less than one year, he was surprised by the sudden appearance of a servant whom he had appointed to represent him in the train of the Catholic sovereigns in Aragon. The man came into his presence, bringing mules laden with eighty thousand ducats ; and told him that he had sold his lands for that money, where-with he had better go to Barbary, and there buy himself a resting-place, and avoid the danger which would surround him, if the Moors, encouraged by his presence, should disturb

the tranquillity of Spain. The slave had been corrupted. Zogoybi submitted to a breach of faith which it was not in his power to redress, and embarked for Barbary, overwhelmed with grief and shame.

Now came an effort to convert or banish all the Moors.

The Inquisitors, headed by Don Diego Deza, successor of Torquemada, and their adherents, plied Ferdinand and Isabella with incessant entreaty to banish all who would not be converted and baptized. They affirmed that by such a measure the articles of capitulation granted on the surrender of Granada would not be broken, since the condition of the Moors would be bettered by an arrangement of so great advantage to their souls; and they insisted that as Christians and Mohammedans could not possibly live together in peace, it was necessary for the public good that the latter should either be converted or expelled.

The King and Queen hesitated to attempt the proposed expulsion, as they once hesitated to receive into Spain a severer form of Inquisition, and as they had more lately hesitated to expel the Jews. "Their Highnesses," says Marmol, "did not determine that such rigour should be used with their new vassals, because the land was not yet made sure, nor had the Moors altogether laid aside their weapons; and if haply they should be driven to rebellion by oppression in a thing on which they would feel so keenly, it might be necessary to renew the war." Their Highnesses thought the measure would be inexpedient, but scarcely perceived that it would be immoral. They were unwilling to be diverted by such a crusade from other projects, and they also hoped that the Moors, like other vanquished peoples, would gradually adopt the religion of their conquerors; "and that this might be effected by love and benevolence, they commanded the governors, alcaydes, and justices of all their kingdoms to favour the Moors, and not allow them to suffer any grievance or ill-treatment, and bade the prelates and the religious to endeavour to teach concerning the faith those who might freely choose to hear them, and to do it gently and with demonstration of love, without in the least oppressing them on that account."

It is not for us to discuss too narrowly how far this fair

speech expresses the real intentions of the King and Queen : we know that it is not the language of the Church.

After six or seven years of conciliation, under the good care of Fray Hernando, a far different personage, Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain, followed the court to Granada, saw the unusual charity displayed by the Archbishop of that province towards the inhabitants, and obtained a royal injunction to remain in the city and promote the great object of conversion, still exercising forbearance, and guarding against every occasion of tumult. But Ferdinand and Isabella made conciliation impossible by allowing Granada to be put under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition of Cordova.

Hernando laid open his plans to his unwelcome colleague and ecclesiastical superior. He showed him a manuscript translation of the Holy Scriptures into Arabic, ready for the press, with a version of the Missal in the same language, as also of some rituals and other books used in worship. Ximenez objected to such an innovation. Hernando, for his part, judged that nothing better could be done for New Christians than to put the Word of God into their hands in an intelligible form ; and he desired that prayers should be read in the vernacular language. He sustained his argument by citing the text of St. Paul ; and justified his proposal by the example of the Greek Church, whose liturgies he believed to be still intelligible to the congregations, and by that of the Latin Church for many ages, until her ancient language ceased to be spoken by the people. Ximenez, on the contrary, thought himself strong in maintaining that the Moors would despise his Christianity if they understood it ; and, rejecting the sentences of inspired writers as inapplicable to the condition of society in later times, declared that prayer in a known tongue would be an insufferable innovation, and forbade the publication of the versions.

Ximenez was not yet Cardinal, nor yet Inquisitor-General ; but he must have been in communication with the Holy Office in Cordova. In the last year of the fifteenth century he began his mission to Mohammedans by holding some apparently amicable conferences with their learned men, presenting to them articles of belief and theological arguments, mingled

with offers of civil freedom, rewards and offices, if they would accept the first elements of Christianity, and teach them to their people. The bargain being struck, Moorish doctors were heard in the mosques declaiming against the superstitions and errors of Islam, and exhorting their congregations to embrace the faith of Christ. The reasons for conversion were not gathered out of the Bible, which none of them wished to think of, but were entirely suggested by the Primate, who had power to dispense the favours of the Crown. Such preaching could not but work wonders, and the doctors led three thousand of their brethren, as candidates for baptism, into the presence of Ximenez. They were baptized at once. He sprinkled them "with hyssop" as they walked past him. Hernando would have taught them first, but Ximenez feared that if they were not received then they would not come again. On the festival of Our Lady of the O,\* the mosque of the Albaycin, a quarter of the city privileged with independent jurisdiction, was consecrated to be a collegiate church, under the advocacy of the Holy Saviour. The selection of time, place, and person indicated a deep scheme, and the contriver would suffer nothing to hinder its prosecution.

Zegri, a Moorish prince, was said to have objected to the desertion of so many from his religion; and Ximenez, thinking to put Granada to silence by an effort of authority, had him arrested secretly, and imprisoned in the Alhambra, with a monk named Leon in the same cell. This monk's lion-like impetuosity, with threats of perpetual imprisonment if Zegri would not be baptized, overcame his obstinacy; and he not only submitted to baptism, but, having gone so far, endeavoured to make the best of the change by courting the favour of the superior powers.

Such proselytes continued to flock into the Church. The number is said to have risen to fifty thousand, and the Archbishop of Toledo resolved to accelerate the movement by a new measure. So long as a Mohammedan king occupied the palace of the Alhambra, Christian inhabitants of the

\* Feast of the Expectation of the Birth of Mary, when the Holy Fathers cried, "O!" for joy.

province were to be found ready to change their religion for any chance of temporal advantage; and now the time was come for endeavouring to force the Elches, or renegades from Christianity, to return to the bosom of the Church. The Elche who refused obedience to the first summons was usually regarded as guilty of disrespect of authority, and arrested. These arrests became numerous, and recusants filled the prisons. At length, as an alguacil was leading away a woman of the Albaycin to prison, the people became infuriated, released the woman, and killed the alguacil. The general discontent then broke out in an insurrection of the city. A hundred thousand men, capable of bearing arms, were terrible by multitude and unity. The small garrison in the Alhambra could not attempt to act; and during ten days Ximenez was besieged in the citadel, which must have capitulated, if the Archbishop of Granada, whose gentleness the zealot had despised, had not walked into the midst of the multitude, imploring them to cease their violence. After kissing his garments, as usual, they complained of the breach of the articles of capitulation, and respectfully remonstrated against the arrests which Ximenez had committed, the public burning of their Koran, and the indignities, of daily occurrence, which had become insupportable. The captain of the garrison then ventured to come forth, joined in the parley, and promised an amnesty, if they would desist from insurrection.

Intelligence of these events alarmed Ferdinand and Isabella. Ximenez, justly accused of mad precipitancy, found himself on the verge of disgrace, and hurried away to Seville, to justify his doings to the sovereigns. With great adroitness, he not only appeased their anger, but, after some persuasion, succeeded in engaging them to treat Granada as a revolted city, and to regard the compact with its inhabitants as made void by rebellion.

The sovereigns had hesitated, but that was all. As they gave way before Torquemada, and banished the Jews, so now they succumb to his equally imperious successor, their spiritual guide, and give up the Moors. The Sultan, who had been appealed to from Granada, sent an embassy to demand that his brethren should not be forced into

Christianity; but Ferdinand and his Queen assured the ambassador that there was no compulsion in the matter, and said that, as it was evident that Mohammedans could not be loyal to a Christian king, those who did not freely change their religion should be taken over to Barbary. They engaged that, in that case, they should be allowed every facility for transit, with opportunity to sell their property before departure. Great multitudes chose to be baptized. Hernando de Talavera performed the ceremony in the gross; for ceremony it was, only ceremony,—assuredly not a Christian sacrament. Those who preferred to leave Spain found passage in the royal ships, were treated with the utmost civility while on board; the captains who conveyed them to the shores of Barbary delivered them to the governors of the several towns, and received certificates of humanity to exhibit on return. The Jews had not been so treated, because there was no earthly power to avenge their cause. The Church of the Inquisition, although she neither knew nor feared the God of Abraham, was afraid of the Sultan. But no foreign Mohammedan was thenceforth allowed to enter Spain.

The inhabitants of the Alpujarra, aroused by these outrages, broke into open revolt; and a civil war continued there, with intervals, through a period of twenty years. Our business, however, is only to observe the part taken in it by the Inquisition.

The Moriscoes, or baptized Moors, had nothing of Christianity but the name; and that name they hated, and were consequently exposed to the utmost severity of the Inquisition. Royal mandates were issued to compel them to learn Spanish, to dress like Spaniards, and to put away the garb, the language, and the customs of their nation. But it was evidently impossible to enforce the mandate, which was again and again withdrawn. By command of the Emperor Charles V., of whom we here speak as Charles I. of Spain, a board of consultation was holden at Granada, (A.D. 1526,) under the presidency of Alonso Manrique, Archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor-General. It consisted of prelates and other dignitaries, with members of the Councils of Castile and of the Inquisition. They revived the obnoxious man-

dates, and devised methods of enforcement, under the direction of a distinct tribunal of Inquisition, then first established in Granada, for the whole province. Great numbers fled from that city and from the towns, and betook themselves to the highways and to the mountains, everywhere pursued as rebels or hunted by Inquisitors as heretics. For the consideration, however, of eighty thousand ducats, the Emperor promised that the severity of the Inquisition should be mitigated as to confiscations, and Clement VII. confirmed certain exemptions by a Bull.

To teach the Moriscoes what they were to expect, in spite of any indulgence the Emperor might grant, or of any remission of pecuniary penalties the Pope might sanction, in regard to a people who were now extremely impoverished, and had few among them possessing property enough to be objects of cupidity, the Inquisitors burnt alive, in Granada, a few Judaizing heretics. This "Act of Faith" took place just the year after Clement granted his Bull forbidding confiscations.

The severity of inquisitorial government may be estimated from a single instance. Until the year 1529 the Moriscoes had lived in separate quarters of the city, known by the general name of *Morerías* ; but they were then compelled to change their habitations, and live among the "Old Christians," so that no two Morisco families might be in near communication. Their most trifling actions were marked, and reported to the Inquisitors at Valladolid, whose dealings with them are exemplified in a case related by Llorente from the original records. On December 8th, 1528, one Catalina, a woman of bad character, delated Juan, a Morisco, seventy-one years of age, by trade a coppersmith, native of Segovia, and inhabitant of Benevente. She told the Inquisitors that, *eighteen years before*, she had lived in the same house with him, and seen that neither he nor his children ate pork or drank wine, and that on Saturday nights and Sunday mornings they used to wash their feet ; which custom, as well as abstinence from pork and wine, was peculiar to the Moors. The Inquisitors summoned the old man into their presence, and questioned him, as usual, at three several interviews. All that he could tell them was,



that he received baptism when forty-five years old; that never having eaten pork or drunk wine until that time, he had then no taste for either; and that, being coppersmiths, he and his sons found it necessary to wash themselves thoroughly once a week. After some other examinations, they sent him back to Benevente, with prohibition from going beyond three leagues' distance from the town; but two years afterwards the Inquisition determined that he should be threatened with torture, in order, of course, to obtain some information that might help them to criminate others. He was, accordingly, taken to Valladolid, and, in a subterranean chamber called "the dungeon of torment," stripped naked, and bound to the "ladder." This might have extorted something like confession; but the brave old man of seventy-three told the Inquisitors, that whatever he might say when under torture would be merely extorted by the anguish, and therefore unworthy of belief; and that he would not, through fear of pain, confess what never had taken place. Having threatened, which was perhaps all they meant to do, they kept him in close prison until the next Act of Faith, when he walked among the penitents with a lighted candle in his hand, and, after he had seen others burnt to death, paid the Holy Office a fee of four ducats, and went home, not acquitted, but released.

At length Don Pedro Guerrero, then Archbishop of Granada, having to go to the Council of Trent, laid the case of the still unsubdued Moriscoes before Paul III., who charged him to engage King Philip II. to take such measures as would prevent the perdition of those souls. The Inquisition was the favoured institution of the Spanish Nero; and as it could not act on its own unaided resources in the troubled kingdom of Granada, he convened a special assembly at Madrid, constituted similarly to that which we have mentioned in Granada, and fixed the term of three years for the Moriscoes to divest themselves of the Arabian dress, disuse the language, and renounce even the most innocent customs of their nation. Pedro de Deza, auditor of the Inquisition, went to Granada with the articles then enacted, (A.D. 1566,) and caused them to be proclaimed; but the proclamation produced little more than a remonstrance and an appeal to

Philip, who had not common sense enough to give ear to the complaints of his subjects; and his refusal to hear them precipitated the final struggle.

Rebellion followed. A fierce warfare spread havoc over all the province. The Inquisitors assured the King that his only remedy was to extirpate the Moriscoes; and after the last of their strongholds was taken, the remnant then scattered over the country was sentenced to expatriation. The bands of the Church military occupied all the kingdom of Granada, now marked out into districts. Troops of licentious soldiery drove the weeping Moriscoes from their houses into the neighbouring churches, and thence carried them away, in such vehicles as could be found, to towns beyond the frontiers; and from those towns they were distributed all over the Spanish peninsula, and mingled with the general population. Thenceforth the hated race had no more any visible existence.


Valencia, being a city and province of the kingdom of Aragon, although included in the same decree of Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1502, for the expulsion of the Moors from their dominions, enjoyed a measure of constitutional rights by which the inhabitants could present a determined, although brief, resistance. But the power of the Moors was gone. In the year 1523 a seditious faction forcibly baptized sixteen thousand of them, merely in order to deprive the noble proprietors of land of the revenue they received from them as Mohammedans, and at least an equal number emigrated to Africa, leaving five thousand houses uninhabited. From that time they had no strength in Aragon. Charles obtained a Bull to absolve him from an oath he had taken, in the Cortes of Zaragoza, not to interfere with their religion. In an ecclesiastical assembly at Madrid it was determined that the sixteen thousand forcibly baptized were really Christians, and therefore subject to the Holy Office. The Inquisitors were directed to convert the rest, and spared no pains in fulfilling the commission. Flight on the one hand, and a mockery of baptism on the other, emptied Valencia of the followers of Mohammed. Those who desperately betook themselves to the mountains were beaten into submission. The vacated mosques became mass-houses. A

wholesale baptism was the sequel of each guerilla. Inquisitors waited in the cathedral of Valencia to give absolution, with remission of penance, to all who chose to accept it.

In the year 1526, a civil war having terminated in a pragmatic between the insurgents and the King, they were all baptized; and after wearing their old garb and speaking Arabic for a few years, these New Christians assumed a new dress, spoke in the language of the country, melted away, under the management of the Inquisition, into the general mass of Spaniards, and, without attaining to any knowledge of their Saviour, utterly forgot the Prophet of Mecca.

I cannot relate—for there is not, so far as I know, any record extant—the particulars of the inquisitorial persecution; but it is certain that, closely leagued with the royal power, the Inquisition crowded the dungeons and fed the hearths. The Sovereigns did sometimes purchase Bulls at Rome to authorize mitigation of severities; but the Inquisitors set at nought the Bulls, and kept their fires burning; until, in the year 1609, their savage joy rose to its height on the expulsion from Spain of the very few Moriscoes that survived. The loss to the population, by successive expulsions of Jews, Moors, and Moriscoes, in obedience to the Inquisition, is estimated at no fewer than three millions.

Having followed the story of the Moriscoes to its close, we must resume our narrative at the point from which we digressed, and survey the progress of the Holy Office, and of inquisitorial legislation and practice in Spain, from the accession of the next Inquisitor-General until the present time.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### SPAIN : DEZA AND XIMENEZ INQUISITORS.

DON DIEGO DE DEZA, a Dominican, a bishop, a professor of theology in the University of Salamanca, tutor of the Infant of Spain, and confessor of the Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, deserved also the superior dignity of Inquisitor-General of Castile. He understood the theology and canons of his Church, and he knew the minds of his masters. He was, therefore, a trusty man ; and in the last year of the fifteenth century a Bull of Alexander VI. invested him with the conservancy of the faith in Spain.

Being with the court in Seville, Deza began his work by decreeing a Constitution, in seven articles, (June 17th, 1500,) which ordained,—

1. That there should be a general inquest made in every place that had not yet been so visited.

2. That the edict requiring all persons to lay informations should be again proclaimed.

3. That the subaltern Inquisitors should search their books, and prosecute all persons noted therein.

4. That no one should be troubled on account of such trifles as blasphemy, which denoted ill-temper, but not heresy.

5. That in cases of canonical compurgation two witnesses should be sworn as responsible for the orthodoxy of each person compurgated.

6. That every one who abjured after vehement suspicion should promise to have no more intercourse with heretics, but to delate them.

7. That those who abjured after formal conviction of heresy should do the same.

The solemnity of this beginning gave reason to believe

that the new Inquisitor meant to be in earnest. His labours to extend the regulations of the Spanish tribunal to Sicily and Naples we shall notice when we come to speak of Italy. It was he who instigated Charles I. of Spain to break his oath with the Cortes of Aragon; and we have already seen how the Moors and Moriscoes suffered under his administration. In order to illustrate the character of this administration, we may note the persecution of the first Archbishop of Granada, and the crusade on the inhabitants of Cordova.

The Archbishop, Hernando de Talavera, when the Italian Inquisitor proposed to revive the Inquisition in Spain, was the Queen's confessor, and advised her Highness to resist the proposal, and endeavour to subdue Judaism by Christian instruction. It was known that, by the channel of his maternal ancestry, he had a slight infusion of Jewish blood. When appointed to the new see of Granada, he won the respect of the Moorish population; and the reader will remember how, afterwards, when the city was insurgent against the tyranny of Ximenez, good Fray Hernando quelled the insurrection by his presence and exhortations, which appeased the fury of the multitude. It was he who caused the Bible to be translated into Arabic, and even dared to argue with Ximenez for making the sacred volume intelligible to the people. He could control the whole body of the citizens by moral influence; whereas the Inquisition, having no such power, had but the single idea of crushing by force, and extirpating all whom they could not compel into entire submission to the Church. Deza hated his principles, and Ximenez was jealous of his influence. Deza, as Inquisitor-General, called on Ximenez to take information concerning the doubted purity of his religion, while associated with him in endeavouring to convert Granada. Ximenez, not yet brought over to the policy of the Inquisition, although actuated by its spirit, wrote to the Pope, Julius II., whom he desired to take the case in hand, lest the archiepiscopal dignity should suffer by the Primate of Spain acting as familiar upon the archbishop of a province. The Pope commanded his Nuncio to inhibit the Inquisitors from further action, but to send him the reports which they had taken of the religious character of Hernando. The Pontiff assembled

several cardinals and prelates to hear those reports read, and, with their concurrence, absolved the suspected Archbishop; but not until he had suffered three years of anxiety and reproach, and seen many of his relatives arrested and imprisoned by the Inquisitor Lucero. And notwithstanding this acquittal, his name figures in the Spanish Index, of which a copy now lies before me, with the written rubric of Don Joaquin Castellot, Revisor-General of the Council, in 1789.\*

This Lucero, whom some called *Tenebrero*, presided over the Holy Office in Cordova. No sooner was he installed in that position, than he made a general attack on the most respectable inhabitants of the city, whom he arrested, examined, set down as imperfect "confitents,"—we must borrow the word from his own vocabulary,—and condemned as false penitents. Some of them, in terror, added to their confessions statements utterly at variance with the truth. Informers crowded Lucero's chamber, bringing monstrous tales of a grand conspiracy of monks, nuns, and other persons, whom they represented as traversing the country, and holding private meetings to establish Judaism, and pull down the Church. Lucero received them gladly. His notaries took down the fables. Familiars dragged from their beds persons who had never so much as thought of such an enterprise. The prisons overflowed; and the enraged inhabitants of Cordova would have demolished the Inquisition at a stroke, if the Municipal Council, the Bishop, the Chapter, and the nobility had not restrained them, and appealed to Deza, as Inquisitor-General, praying for the removal of Lucero. But Deza turned furiously on the complainants, and by name pronounced a long train of nobles, monks, nuns, canons, and men of civil authority, abettors of Judaism.

At this juncture Philip I. assumed the government of Castile; and the Bishop, with a multitude of persons whose relatives were in dungeons, implored him to transfer their cause to some other court. Philip heard their petition, suspended both Deza and Lucero from the exercise of their functions, and directed that the whole affair should be submitted to the Supreme Council of Castile; but, like many

\* Talavera (Lic. Fr. Hernando de), *Impugnac. Catholica del heretico Libello*.

other princes, when brought into conflict with priests, he died before his order could be obeyed. For Deza that death was opportune; and, during an interregnum, he vaulted again into his inquisitorial throne, and renewed the assault on Cordova.

The Marquis of Priego, who had formerly by petition sought redress, now resolved to take it by force. He headed a strong body of Cordovese, broke open the house of the Inquisition, (October 6th, 1506,) liberated many prisoners, and imprisoned several officers of the establishment in their stead, but missed Lucero, who had betaken himself to timely flight on the back of a swift mule. Deza, not more brave, resigned his office of Inquisitor-General; and Cordova, satisfied with that deliverance, returned to tranquillity.

No class of persons had escaped the persecution of this Deza. Antonio de Lebrija, one of the few learned men who shone as lights amidst the thick darkness of that age, suffered a vexatious interruption of his studies, which were purely literary and biblical. He describes the intellectual bondage endured under the reign of Deza in the following impassioned sentences:—"Is it not enough to yield up my understanding to Christ when religion so requires? Must I also be compelled to deny what I have learned on points that are clear to me, evident, notorious, manifest, more brilliant than the light of day, and true as truth itself? Must it be thus with me, when I affirm, on serious conviction, not uttering opinion or conjecture, but bringing proof with invincible reasons, irrefragable arguments, and mathematical demonstrations? O, misery! Alas! what slavery is this! What iniquitous domination is this, that, by dint of violence, prevents one from speaking as he feels, even without interfering with religion in the least! But what is it not to *speaking*? It is not even permitted for one to *write*, when he is alone, within four walls. It is not even permitted to investigate the true sense of any thing, if he happens to suffer a whisper to escape him. It is not permitted to *reflect*; no, not even in intention. Then what may we think of, if it be not lawful to spend our thoughts on those books which contain the Christian religion? Did not the Psalmist say that this is the occupation of the righteous man? 'His delight,'

he says, 'is in the law of the Lord, and in His law doth he meditate day and night.' " \*

This forcibly recalls a sentence that was addressed to myself many years ago by the Padre de la Canal, one of the most accomplished scholars and historians of Spain, when in conversation with him in his richly-furnished library in the Augustinian monastery in Madrid: "*The Inquisition has ruined Spain.*" And Spain must be delivered from its present governors, colonized, peopled anew, and made Christian, before monuments of ruin, more general and more difficult to put out of sight than the vestiges of Roman, Goth, or Saracen, will disappear from the social condition of that fine people.

Llorente calculates the victims of Deza thus :—

Burnt alive .....	2,592
Burnt in effigy .....	896
Ruined in penance.....	34,952
<hr/>	
Total.....	38,440
<hr/>	

The distribution of these numbers is acknowledged to be conjectural, and the entire calculation involved in that of the time of Torquemada; but the aggregates are gathered by our author from sources of indisputable authenticity, and the proportions are suggested by his own experience and profound historical information. Inferior men sometimes endeavour to discredit Llorente, but their attempts are vain.

Brute ferocity could not always revel with impunity. The insurrection of Cordova, and the steady resistance of the kingdom of Aragon, taught the heads of Popedom and of Spain, that the Inquisition would fail, unless its affairs were conducted with caution as well as vigour. In this exigency Ferdinand V., King-Governor of Spain, nominated Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo, to be Inquisitor-General of Castile, and raised Juan Engueza, Bishop of Vique, to the corresponding dignity in Aragon. The Pope confirmed the nominations; and the Bull to Ximenez came addressed

\* *Bibliotheca Hispanica, A., art., Antonius.*



to him as Cardinal, the Consistory having awarded him the purple as a recompense for past services, and an incentive to zeal for the future. He had to contend not only with the men of Cordova, but with a strongly-pronounced disaffection in every quarter of the kingdom; and therefore he bespoke forbearance by encouraging an inquiry into the conduct of his fallen predecessor. Several persons had approached "the threshold of the apostles," complaining that relatives had been imprisoned without cause, or that their houses had been wantonly razed to the ground, after false rumours that they had been used for synagogues. The Pope had appointed delegates to investigate those cases, and now empowered Ximenez to take cognizance of the whole affair. Entering on the matter with extreme caution, he formed, in conjunction with the King, a "Catholic Congregation," or special Court of Inquiry, chiefly consisting of Inquisitors; and, after due deliberation, pronounced a sentence of acquittal in favour of the sufferers, restored the dead to honour and fame, rebuilt the ruined houses, and ordered all records tending to prejudice the living to be cancelled. The sentence was published at Valladolid, with great solemnity and rejoicing, in presence of King, grandees, and prelates; but Lucero, the chief criminal, the man who had wasted so much life and ruined so many families, was liberated from prison, and sent, unpunished, to live at Almeria, and enjoy the dignity and revenue of *maestrescuela*, or "teacher of the clergy," in the cathedral there. No penalty was inflicted on him or on Deza.

While only a looker-on, Ximenez had favoured the prevailing wish for a reformation of the Inquisition; but no sooner did he find himself intrusted with its control, than he resolved to make the most of it as an engine of government, and led the way for that political application of its agencies which became so general and so effective. He resisted the very proposals which he had formerly encouraged, and had even proffered to Don Carlos of Austria, afterwards Charles V., Emperor. He directed all his energies to the confirmation and extension of the institution, without any abatement of even the least of its enormities. He divided the realm of Castile into inquisitorial provinces, placing an Inquisitor at

the head of each : in Sevilla, Jaen, Toledo, Estremadura, Murcia, Valladolid, Majorca, Pamplona, Sardinia, Sicily.

It was by means of his influence and management that Ferdinand received the crown of Spain. He therefore enjoyed his unbounded confidence and favour. He was Cardinal of Spain, a title rarely conferred, and Governor, under Ferdinand, of all his dominions. As Archbishop of Toledo, he was head of the clergy ; as Inquisitor-General of Castile, he was the terror of every priest and of every layman within the bounds of his jurisdiction. So now, having improved the organization of the Holy Office, he proposed to extirpate those enemies of the Church who occupied the small state of Oran, on the coast of Africa, where every refugee from Spain, every fugitive from the Inquisition, could, until that time, find shelter. At the head of fourteen thousand men, fitted out and paid from his own purse, he embarked for Africa in February, 1509, and soon achieved the conquest. During his absence, Ferdinand curtailed for a time the power of the Popes over the Inquisitor, by forbidding the reception of Briefs or Bulls concerning it, without his *regium placet*, or permission.

When presiding over the Cortes of Aragon, in 1510, Ferdinand heard bitter complaints against the Inquisitors in that kingdom. The representatives of the cities and towns declared that those men not only made inquest concerning faith, but usurped civil authority ; that they threw persons into their dungeons for civil offences, multiplied familiars, all of whom were exempted from paying taxes, until the country was brought to the verge of ruin, and made themselves insufferable by meddling, under pretext of religion or of privilege, in every court. Whoever attempted to resist those usurpations, whether he were viceroy, captain-general, or grandee, was instantly subjected to insult, and even to excommunication. They therefore prayed the King to keep the Inquisitors within their proper bounds, and cause the laws and rights of Aragon to be respected. The King hesitated, promised, equivocated, and delayed ; but, after two years' reluctance, was compelled to yield, in part, to their demands.

Yet, after solemnly binding himself by oath, in open

Cortes, to enforce the Concordat between the Inquisition and the kingdom, he was soon induced to apply to Rome for a consecration of perfidy, and obtained from Pope Leo X. a dispensation from the oath.

After his African campaign, Ximenez resumed the management of the Inquisition, which had been conducted by a substitute during his absence, and gave clearest evidence that, amidst the cares of state, he had no care for the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. A clever female impostor, known as the devotee of Piedrahita, filled Spain with wonder, by professing to be favoured with a constant vision of the Saviour and of the Holy Virgin, and uttering blasphemies that the pen refuses to repeat. Ximenez sent for her to Court. He and the King conversed with her. The Inquisitors noted her sayings, and admired her miracles. The Pope and his Nuncio acknowledged that they dreaded scandal; but the Inquisition pronounced her blessed. Scandal there was, indeed, but it came from another quarter. It was known that the Inquisitors were accustomed to dishonour the females whom they caused to be brought into the "holy houses;" and Ximenez, with due ostentation, decreed that all convicted of that crime should be put to death; but none died, because none were convicted. Neither could any be convicted, for none were prosecuted. Neither did the abomination cease.

The New Christians, on whom the severest persecution fell, offered Ferdinand six hundred thousand ducats of gold, if he would protect them from the horrible Secret of the tribunal, and allow the names of witnesses to be published; and they very nearly succeeded in obtaining the object of their prayer. But Ximenez, with his wonted magnificence, or, perhaps, with his usual calculation of ultimate advantage, laid down a sum, if not equal, at least sufficient to induce the King to reject their overture, and to maintain the Secret. To accept even six hundred thousand ducats, once for all, instead of a constant and unlimited exaction, would have been a loss to the Inquisitors; and as for the cash paid by Ximenez, it is not to be supposed that it came out of his own purse. It is also noted, that while so very indulgent to a wretched woman who brought derision on the name of the adorable Redeemer, he had no indulgence to bestow upon a

penitent; and, resolving that no penitent should thenceforth be spared a blush, he despoiled all the provincial Inquisitors of their accustomed privilege of diminishing the more ignominious part of public penance, and forbade them to allow the *sambenito* to be laid aside.

Meanwhile, the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were struggling against the royal and ecclesiastical authorities. Ferdinand, although Leo X. sanctioned his perfidy, saw that if he persisted in violating his engagement with the Cortes of Monzon, all Aragon would be up in arms; and therefore prayed the Pope to recall his obnoxious Bull, and restore its right of jurisdiction to the civil power. Also in the same year, 1515, the Cortes of Toledo, in Castile, extorted a similar concession, and forced the King to confine the Inquisitors within their province, and restrain them from interfering with the business of secular judges.

Ximenez bowed, perforce, before the representatives of the nation, but quietly pursued his course of advance in interior discipline; and not only placed Inquisitors, with their establishments, in Cuenca, but set up the Office in the newly-conquered territory of Oran. Having thus extended its operations to Africa, he sent it across the Atlantic, to awe the converts of the New World into submission to the "righteousness and mercy" of his Church. Ferdinand V. commanded the Holy Tribunal to be erected in the kingdom of Terra Firma; and (A.D. 1516) the Cardinal named Juan Quevedo, Bishop of Cuba, as first Inquisitor in those regions. But this belongs to a following chapter.

Unlike other powers, which usually begin by conciliating the confidence of their subjects, the Inquisition was generally careful to make a first impression of terror. In the new district of Cuenca, one of their first acts was to proceed against the memory and estate of Juan Henriquez de Medina, saying, that although he died in peace with the Church, having received the sacraments of confession, eucharist, and extreme unction, he was, in reality, an impenitent heretic, and only a pretended Christian. They declared him infamous, commanded his remains to be exhumed and burnt, his effigy, covered with a *sambenito*, to be exhibited at the same time, and his property to be

confiscated. The heirs of Medina appealed to Ximenez, who appointed commissioners to examine the case ; but the commissioners proceeded in entire agreement with the Inquisitors themselves. The aggrieved family appealed again, from Ximenez to the Pope, who commanded the commissioners to exercise impartiality ; and this induced them to give sentence in favour of the deceased.

A similar case occurred at Burgos, where a dead man was arraigned, absolved, and then accused of heresy again. Such was their absurd barbarity. The family appealed to Leo X., on behalf of the deceased, Juan de Covarrubias, whom Leo recognised as a friend of his youth ; and the more earnestly, on that account, interposed his authority to quash a project of spoliation and infamy. But the Cardinal of Spain, now also Regent of Castile, after the death of Ferdinand, elate with power, resisted the Pope, rallied the inquisitorial host into revolt against their Supreme Pastor, and was in the height of the quarrel, when death silenced him. But disgrace came first. The new King of Spain, Charles I.,\* had commanded him to retire to his archbishopric ; and there, at war with the world, and scarcely in agreement with the Church, he expired, eighty years of age, on November 8th, 1517. His victims were :—

Burnt at the stake.....	3,564
Burnt in effigy .....	1,232
Penitents.....	48,059
<hr/>	
Total.....	52,855
<hr/>	

—nearly fifty-three thousand witnesses, whose testimony would tell heavily against the eulogies echoed by credulous reciters of the praises lavished by his own partisans on that *learned, liberal, munificent Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros.*

\* Charles I., as King of Spain ; Charles V., as Emperor of Germany.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### SPAIN: KINGS CHARLES I. AND PHILIP II.

HAVING traced the history of the modern Inquisition in Spain under the government of four Inquisitors-General, we will briefly note its condition during the reign of Charles I., under the administration of the Cardinals Adriano, Tabera, and Loaisa, who successively presided, and the former part of the reign of Philip II., with the Archbishop Valdés.

Charles did not come into Spain until two years after the death of his grandfather Ferdinand. He was a German by birth, education, and language. His education chiefly consisted in historical reading, by which he had learned the evil of Papal interference with the rights of kings, and felt himself resolved to abolish the Inquisition in his new kingdom, or, at least, to change its character. Some universities and colleges, both in the Netherlands and Spain, had given sentences confirmatory of his own opinion; and, in the fervour of youthful purpose,—for he was only eighteen years of age,—he meant to confer this benefit on Spain.

After a magnificent entry into Valladolid, he there met the Cortes of Castile, (February, 1518,) who laid a petition before him, containing this prayer:—"We supplicate your Highness to command provision to be made, that in the office of the Holy Inquisition the proceedings be so conducted that entire justice be observed; that the wicked be punished, and that good men, being innocent, suffer not; that they observe the sacred canons *and the common right*, which speak on this point; and that judges appointed to this end be generous,"—noble by descent,—"*of good character and conscience, and of the age which the law requires, such persons as may be expected to do justice; and that the ordinaries be righteous*

judges."\* The King answered this petition by a pragmatic sanction, or decree, to have the force of law till the next Cortes; but the King's chancellor died just then, and the pragmatic was never published.

From Valladolid Charles went to Zaragoza, where he met the deputies of Aragon, and swore to maintain the rights and laws of their kingdom, wherein were included restrictions on the Holy Office. But by this time the Inquisitor-General, Adriano, had gained the young King's ear, and, by propounding reasons of State, soon converted him into an ardent patron of the very institution he had intended to destroy. The Cortes of Aragon met a second time, (close of 1518,) represented to His Highness that the existing restraints on inquisitorial power were insufficient, and prayed for the addition of articles like those promised to Castile. He replied that they must confine their requests within the limits of the Sacred Canons and Pontifical Decrees, attempting nothing against the Inquisition; that if they had any complaint to make against an Inquisitor, they must carry it to the Inquisitor-General; and that, in case of doubt, it must remain with the Pope to arbitrate.

A similar discussion arose between the King and the Cortes of the principality of Catalonia in 1519, and closed with as little satisfaction.

The Inquisitors, emboldened by the young King's adherence, revenged themselves by seizing the Secretary of the Cortes at Zaragoza, and throwing him into prison as a heretic. But this provoked the Aragonese to refuse a grant which they had agreed to give the King, on the understanding that he would redress their grievances; and His Highness, after making a slight concession, merely to secure the money, prosecuted the cause of the Inquisition with the utmost zeal.

The Inquisitors, for their part, braved the public, and carried on their cruelties with the greater ostentation. Reserving for future chapters some details of their accustomed cruelties, I mention but one example now.

A physician, Juan de Salas, was accused of having used a profane expression, twelve months before, in the heat of a

\* Llorente, xi. 1, gives the press-mark, D 153, of his manuscript authority in the Royal Library, Madrid.

dispute. He denied the charge, and brought several witnesses in support of the denial. But the Inquisitor Moriz, at Valladolid, where the information was laid, caused De Salas to be brought again into his presence in the torment-chamber, stripped to his shirt, and laid on the *ladder* or *donkey*, an instrument resembling a wooden trough, just large enough to receive the body, with no bottom, but having a bar, or bars, so placed that the body bent by its own weight into an exquisitely painful position. The poor man, so laid, was bound round the arms and legs with hempen cords, each of them encircling the limb eleven times. During this part of the operation they admonished him to confess the blasphemy ; but he only answered that he had never spoken a sentence of such a kind, and then, resigning himself to suffer, repeated the Athanasian Creed, and prayed "to God and Our Lady many times." Being still bound, they raised his head, covered his face with a piece of fine linen, and, forcing open the mouth, caused water to drip into it from an earthen jar, slightly perforated at the bottom, producing, in addition to his sufferings from distension, a horrid sensation of choking. But again, when they removed the jar for a moment, he declared that he had never uttered such a sentence : and this was repeated often. They then pulled the cords on his right leg, cutting into the flesh, replaced the linen on his face, dropped the water as before, and tightened the cords on his right leg the second time ; but still he maintained that he had never spoken such a thing ; and, in answer to the questions of his tormentors, still constantly reiterated that he had never spoken such a thing. Moriz then pronounced that the torture should be regarded as begun, but not finished ; and De Salas was released, to live, if he could survive, in the incessant apprehension that, if he gave the least umbrage to a familiar or to an informer, he would be carried again into the same chamber, and be racked in every limb.

This was one case of thousands. Tortures and deaths were of every-day occurrence. Popular dissatisfaction, not only represented in Cortes, but showing itself in tumults, threatened civil war, and gave rise to disputes between the King and the Popes, which rose to such a height that (A.D. 1535) Charles withdrew his sanction from the acts of the



tribunal, and the Spanish Inquisition suffered a humiliation of ten years. It was a humiliation, however, and nothing more. The Inquisition was not suspended, as some have supposed, during that time; for, without any royal sanction, the Inquisitors persevered as quietly and stubbornly as possible.

It was about the year 1541 that the guardians of the Romish superstition in Spain began to proceed formally against Lutherans, as they were called who gathered their knowledge of Christianity from the Bible. During eighteen years, cases of Lutheranism frequently occurred; but they came singly, and the Inquisition did not think it necessary to put forth all its energies until the year 1559, when a scene of surpassing interest opens to our view.

Judaism was dislodged from Spain, after having flourished there from times anterior to the Christian era. The New Christians must have been well schooled into dissimulation, and they no doubt managed to maintain a secret attachment to their ancient faith, and, as Jews, existed still in a profoundly secret society, of which an individual member was now and then detected. I have no sufficient means of tracing the secret history of Judaism, nor is this the place for pointing out the channel of sympathy by which Gospel truth had begun to flow in Spain through the Jewish mind which yet lived in the bosom of Spanish society. But I cannot refrain from borrowing a singular description of the ceremony of "re-Judaization," as it is given by Eymeric.\*

When a baptized Jew desired to return to his former religion, he came into a private assemblage of his own people, where the ceremony was to be performed. It commenced with a question, put by some one of the company, whether he desired to make the *ablution*, or *bath*, or *baptism* (אָבִילּוּן). On his answering that such was his desire, the principal Jew present proceeded to address him as a *penitent* (בַּעַל-תַּשׁוּבָה); thus formally reversing the style and ceremonial observed in the Church of Rome towards proselytes. The "penitent" then put off all his clothes, and went into the water. Sometimes they had a warm bath for the occasion; and the Jews present rubbed him well with sand from

\* Quæst. xlv.

head to foot, but applied the friction chiefly to his forehead, chest, and palms of the hands, where the chrism had been applied by the priest in baptism. They also scraped the nails of both fingers and toes until they bled, and shaved off all the hair from his head. After all this, the penitent threw himself into a running stream. His companions caused him to plunge over head three times, and then the senior Jew pronounced a benediction, or prayer : " Blessed be Thou, O Lord God eternal, who hast commanded us to be sanctified with this water." This done, he came up out of the water, put on entirely new clothes, and stood before his brethren as if he were a new creature. All the Jews present then kissed him, addressing him by a Jewish name. Being thus fully received back into the fellowship of Israel, he professed his faith in the Law of Moses, promised to observe it faithfully, denied Christian baptism and faith in Christ, and finally received a written testimonial, to be made use of when occasion might occur, declaring him to be again a good Jew, and calling upon all Jews to give him welcome, confidence, and help. There can be no doubt that such ablutions were frequent, and that through them a considerable part of the Jewish renegades were recovered.

There is even now, as I am credibly informed, a ceremonial secretly in use among the Spanish Gipsies, for de-baptizing their children whom the priests imagine they have made Christians. Perhaps this was borrowed from the Jews.

The religion of the Koran had been driven out of the Peninsula, and there was neither mosque nor muezzin remaining. Evangelical Christianity was only known in the laws as an offence ; yet it did find admission into the hearts of not a few in secret. Without any ostensible communion, or even a single edifice erected for Divine worship, small companies of brethren were now used to meet in private, and were peacefully and silently resisting forces which, to others, had been resistless. Without any charm of antiquity, or any appeal to human motive, those disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ braved the peril of death for twenty years ; and, for eighteen of those twenty years, were doubtless yielding themselves to imprisonment, to tortures, and to death, far beyond the scanty records that have come to our knowledge ; those

records proving the superior power of that faith which can persevere at all hazards, and in the absence of every earthly succour or incitement. At length, as the obnoxious races had been swept away by two great efforts, so Lutheranism, as it was called, was marked for annihilation by a third.

In the years 1557 and 1558 a large number of persons were imprisoned as Lutherans. Many of them were of illustrious descent, and eminent for learning and official rank. From the usual examinations it became evident that an evangelical reformation was rapidly spreading, and Philip II., with the Inquisitor-General Valdés, resolved to employ some extraordinary means to crush it, if possible, for ever. The King laid the whole case before the Pope, Paul IV., who addressed a Brief to Valdés, (January 4th, 1559,) authorizing him, notwithstanding anything to the contrary that might be found in the general rules of the Inquisition, to deliver over to the secular arm, for the punishment of death, all dogmatizing (or *teaching*) Lutheran heretics, even although they had not relapsed, as well as those who professed penitence, but were still subject to suspicion. This was an excess of cruelty beyond that of Ferdinand and Torquemada, who never put penitents to death, even if the recantation were evidently extorted by fear, unless they had afterwards relapsed, or were said to have relapsed. On the day following, the Pope gave another Brief, revoking all licences to read prohibited books, authorizing the prosecution of all who read such books, and instructing all confessors to examine their penitents, and to require them to declare at the Holy Office the names of all whom they knew to possess such books, under penalty of the greater excommunication. The confessor who omitted this examination and injunction was to be laid under equal condemnation. Bishop, Archbishop, King, or Emperor, every one was included under the terrible obligation to go into the Holy Office and give information of the faintest shade of heresy they might have detected or imagined in another. The Jesuits were by this time numerous in Spain, and exerted themselves, beyond all others, in the delation of heretics. Suspicion was rife everywhere. The Jesuits themselves were suspected.

The particular heresy that it pleased the keepers of the

faith to mark for visitation with capital punishment, cannot be so well described as in the words of the Cardinal Inquisitor-General Manrique, who commanded, in agreement with the Council of the "Supreme Inquisition," that to the articles hitherto recited in the annual Edict, requiring all persons to inform against heretics, the following should be added :—

"1. If they know, or have heard, that any one has said, defended, or believed, that the sect of Luther or his followers is good, or that he has believed and approved of any of its condemned propositions ; to wit,—

"2. That it is not necessary to confess sins to the priest, since it is sufficient to confess them before God.

"3. That neither Pope nor priests have power to absolve from sins.

"4. That the true body of our Lord Jesus Christ is not in the consecrated host.

"5. That we ought not to pray to saints, nor ought there to be images in the churches.

"6. That there is no purgatory, nor any necessity to pray for the deceased.

"7. That faith, with baptism, is sufficient for salvation, without any need of works.

"8. That any one, although not a priest, may hear another in confession, and give him the communion under the two kinds of bread and wine.

"9. That the Pope has no power to grant indulgences and pardons.

"10. That clerks, friars, and nuns may marry.

"11. That there ought not to be friars, nuns, nor monasteries.

"12. That God did not institute the regular religious orders.

"13. That the state of marriage is better and more perfect than that of unmarried clerks and friars.

"14. That there should be no more feast-days than the Sunday.

"15. That it is not a sin to eat flesh on Fridays, in Lent, and on other days of abstinence.

"16. If they know, or have heard say, that any one has

held, believed, or defended various other opinions of Luther and his followers, or that any one has left the kingdom to be a Lutheran in other countries."

When the Inquisitor-General prescribed these additions to the Edict, he told the provincial Inquisitors that they might also insert something to direct information against the *Alumbrados*, (enlightened,) or *Dejados*, (careless,) as they were also called, a sect of antinomians, a folk who are too numerous at all times, but especially abound when a once-dominant religion, whether true or false, has decayed, and while the masses of the people are untaught. In such a condition of society, truth and error are wildly mingled and confounded. But even the speculations of the Spanish *illuminati* would be rather exaggerated by the Inquisitors than stated fairly. The Council of "the Supreme" afterwards took up the suggestion; and in *cartas acordadas*, or letters of instruction, issued on the 28th of January, 1568, and 4th of December, 1574, prescribed the following questions, which we may take as characteristic of the times :—

"1. Do you know, or have you heard, that any person, living or dead, has said or affirmed that the sect of the *Alumbrados*, or *Dejados*, is good ?

"2. That mental prayer is of Divine command, and that by it is fulfilled all that remains of the Christian religion ?

"3. That prayer is a sacrament hidden under accidents ?

"4. That this sacrament is only verified in mental prayer, since vocal prayer is of little value ?

"5. That servants of God should not busy themselves in bodily exercises ?

"6. That a parent, or other superior, ought not to be obeyed when he commands things that would hinder the exercise of mental prayer and contemplation ?

"7. Have you heard that any one has spoken evil of the sacrament of matrimony, or said that no one can attain to the secret of virtue, without learning from those who teach this doctrine following ?—

"8. That no one can be saved without the prayer that they practise and teach, and without making a general confession.

"9. That the heats, tremblings, and faintings, which

usually appear in the said teachers, and their good disciples, are indications of the love of God.

“10. That by these signs they are known to be in grace, and to possess the Holy Spirit.

“11. That they who are perfect need not perform virtuous works.

“12. That on reaching the state of one perfect, the essence of the most Holy Trinity is made visible in this world.

“13. That such perfect persons are directly governed by the Holy Spirit.

“14. That for doing a thing, or for not doing anything, these perfect ones are not subject to any other rule than that of inspirations directly received from the Holy Spirit.

“15. That people ought to shut their eyes when the priest elevates the host.

“16. That any one has said that, on arriving at a certain degree of perfection, the perfect can no longer see images of saints, nor hear sermons, nor other discourses that treat of God.

“17. Have you seen or heard of any other piece of bad doctrine of the said sect of *Alumbrados*, or *Dejados* ?”

To give audience to the numberless informers who ran to the Sacred Tribunal, and gave intelligence of congregations of Lutherans assembled in private houses, and to conduct the procedure of inquisition, Don Pedro de la Gasca was appointed by Valdés his sub-delegate in Valladolid ; and in Seville, Don Juan Gonzales de Munebreza : for in these two cities, and in their neighbourhood, the Gospel was making extraordinary progress. Valdés also appointed a set of itinerating officers, who dispersed themselves all over the country, and on gaining information of some persons who were leaving their homes to avoid persecution, mounted on post-horses, pursued them from stage to stage ; and, flight being held equivalent with confession of heresy, they brought the fugitives back, and threw them into dungeons.

The revenue of the Holy Office, rich as it was, was said to be insufficient to defray the cost of the crusade ; and therefore the Pope, at the request of the Inquisitor-General, required the revenue of a canonry in each metropolitan

cathedral and collegiate church to be transferred to this new service ; and, by another Brief, he alienated the sum of one hundred thousand ducats of gold from the ordinary ecclesiastical revenue of Spain, to be expended in like manner. Many chapters demurred at the impost, and one, at least,—that of Majorca,—refused to pay so much as a maravedí ; but they generally submitted in the end, and never was army better equipped for a campaign, than were those Inquisitors for theirs. Public expectation ran high. The priests and the priest-ridden populace demanded spectacles answering to the rank and number of the heretics, and they were not disappointed.

The Emperor Charles V. and King Philip II. were, no less than their meanest subjects, amenable to inquisitorial authority. They had presumed to exercise their judgment in respect to marriage-laws within their own dominions, in a way that gave offence to Pope Paul IV. After threats of excommunication and interdict, and some show of resistance from the King, Paul commanded Valdés, as Inquisitor-General of Spain, to punish the *authors* and followers of the opinions on the points in dispute ; “ such doctrine being notoriously heretical and inexcusable.”

Philip’s courage soon gave way. He ordered the Duke of Alva, then in Italy, to beg the Pope’s pardon for his heretical resistance. The Duke obeyed, of course. “ Henceforth,” said Paul to his cardinals, “ this example of the King of Spain will support the supreme pontiffs, when teaching proud princes how to pay due obedience to the head of the Church.”

“ My master,” said the Duke, “ has made a great mistake. Had I been King of Spain, Cardinal Caraffa should have come to Brussels, and knelt down at my feet to beg pardon, as I have had to beg it of the Pope.”

## CHAPTER XV.

### SPAIN : PREPARATIONS FOR AN AUTO-DE-FE.

HERE, once for all, we may describe the preparations for a Spanish *Auto-de-Fé*, for the public execution of heretics.

When an Inquisitor had determined to pronounce sentence on a company of prisoners, he appointed, as we observed when describing the Sermons of Toulouse, a Sunday or feast-day for the solemnity ; avoiding, however, a Sunday in Advent or Lent, or Easter Day, or Christmas Day, or any of the greater festivals, because, for such days, special musical and dramatic entertainments were provided in the churches, and were not to be interrupted. The day being fixed, general notice was given by the curates from their pulpits, that, at the time and place appointed, there would be a "general Sermon of the Faith" delivered by the Inquisitor ; and that, in honour thereto, all other preachers would be silent. A living picture of the last judgment, said they, would be represented for the instruction of the faithful.

If any were to be delivered over to the secular arm, due notice was given to the chief civil authority, that he might be present, with all his subordinates, to receive the culprits. On the day before the *Auto*, it was usual to carry a bush in procession to the *Quemadero*, or place of burning, thereby to signify many things to the people, which were fully expounded by the preachers, and need not be repeated here.

A secretary and servants, with a crier, came forth in a body from the palace of the Inquisition, and, in the squares and public places, unfurled a banner, on which was displayed an order, that no person, of whatever station or quality, from that hour until the day after the execution of the *Auto*, should carry arms, offensive or defensive, under pain of the greater excommunication, and the loss of such arms ; and



that this same day, until two in the afternoon, no person should proceed in coach or sedan, or on horseback, through the streets where the procession was to pass, nor enter the square in which the scaffold was erected.

In the evening came the procession of the Green Cross. All the communities of friars of the city and neighbourhood, having assembled at the Holy House of Inquisition, together with the commissaries, the scribes, and the familiars of that district, sallied forth in long array. After them walked the consulters and the triers, (*Qualificatores*), with all the officials of the Court, each carrying a large white taper, lighted. Between the officials went men burdened with a bier, that was covered with a pall. A numerous band, vocal and instrumental, followed last, performing the hymn, *Vexilla regis prodeunt*.\* In this order the procession reached the square where the platform and galleries were made ready for the exhibition of the morrow. On that scaffold was an altar; and the pall being removed from the bier, a large green cross, covered with a black veil, was taken off it, carried to the platform, unveiled, erected on the altar, and illuminated with twelve large white tapers. Some friars of St. Dominic, and a strong body of lancers, took their station round the cross, to watch there during the night, and immediately the procession dispersed.

Meanwhile, preparations began in the Holy House, where the prisoners had their beards shaven off, and their heads shorn close, that they might present an appearance of nakedness and humiliation, suitable to wretches who had forfeited their baptismal grace.

On the morning of the fatal day, by sunrise, or earlier, the culprits were brought out of their cells into the chapel or hall, already attired for the spectacle. Penitents of the lowest class were merely dressed in a coarse black coat and pantaloons, bare-headed, and without shoes or stockings. The more guilty wore a *sambenito*, or penitential sack. Their habit was yellow, and the St. Andrew's cross which appeared on it was red. Sometimes a rope was put round

\* The hymn so beginning is to be found in the Breviary, *infra Hebdomadam quartam quadragesimæ*. It contains the often-quoted passage: "Hail to thee, O cross, our only hope! In this time of passion, increase grace to the pious, and blot out their crimes for the guilty."

the neck, as an additional mark of ignominy. Those who were to be burnt were distinguished by a sack of sheepskin, in the same form, called *zamarra*,\* and a conical paper cap, slightly resembling a bishop's mitre, and called *coroza*.† On the *zamarra* there was no cross, but a painting of flames and devils, and sometimes an ugly portrait of the heretic himself,—a head, with flames under it. The *coroza* was ornamented in like manner. Any who had been sentenced to the stake, but indulged with commutation of the penalty, had inverted flames painted on the livery; and this was called *fuego revuelto*, "inverted fire."

The penitents, of all degrees, were to sit upon the ground in profound silence, not presuming so much as to move a limb, and thus await the hour. Those condemned to burn were taken into a separate apartment, where the Inquisitors beset them with importunate exhortations to repent, and be reconciled to the Church. The inducement for them to repent was an offer that they should be put to death less painfully, by strangulation, not by flames, leaving only lifeless bodies that would not feel the fire, and that they should be spared from hell.

They who came to take part in the *Auto* assembled in the palace of the Inquisitor, filling the apartments, and partook of an abundant breakfast, to fortify them for the labours of the day. The penitents, the impenitent, and the relapsed also had a meal prepared for them; and sometimes, as if in mockery, the breakfast set before those condemned to taste the fire was ostentatiously sumptuous.

The great bell of the cathedral had been tolling from early dawn, and now the city was in motion. All preparations being complete, the chief Inquisitor proceeded to the door of his palace, attended by his notary, who read the roll, beginning with the names of those who had offended least, and closing with them on whom the Holy Office poured its bitterest curses. Each person came when called in turn, with all his marks upon him,—marks of starvation, torture, terror, shame; or, oftentimes, with a smile of conquest on his countenance, if not with words of triumphant faith bursting from his lips. But criminals of that class were usually distinguished as dogma-

\* From a Hebrew word, זָמַר came *zamarra* in old Spanish.

† Peggiorative of *corona*, "crown."

tizers ; and if any of them did not come gagged, the gag was ready to be put on, if necessary, to prevent him from uttering words which the priests did not wish the people to hear. In such cases the mouth was filled with a piece of wood, which pressed down the tongue, as it was kept in by a strong leather band fastened behind the head, while the hands of the heretic were bound together behind the back. In Goa, as each came, or was brought, the notary read a second name, that of a guard, or sponsor, who was to perform the meritorious duty of walking beside him in the procession. In Spain there were two guards to each person condemned to die at the stake.

The Dominicans, always honoured with precedence on such occasions, led the way, in Goa and in Spain ; singing-boys came next, chanting a litany. The banner of the Inquisition was entrusted to the hands of the Dominicans. The Spanish banner was a rude green cross on a black ground, with an olive-branch on one side and a sword on the other, showing the alternative of reconciliation or death offered, or pretended, by the Holy Office. The motto was, *Exsurge, Domine, et judica causam Tuam* : " Arise, O Lord, and judge Thy cause." The Inquisition of Goa displayed a portrait of Dominic, holding the olive-branch and sword, standing on a cloud, with a dog—of which his mother dreamt some months before his birth—having a brand in its mouth to set the world on fire. By this motto, *Misericordia et justitia*, the fiery saint seemed to offer the choice of mercy or justice to his victim. Yet the motto could only serve to remind every one who saw it that the Inquisition, by its own rules bound, cannot exercise mercy, and that it sets at nought even the common forms of justice. After the banner walked the penitents, two and two. In Goa a cross-bearer brought up the train, carrying a crucifix aloft, turned towards them, as if in signal of pity ; and, on looking along the line, you might have seen another priest going before the penitents, with his crucifix turned backwards, inviting their devotions. In Spain, the banner which preceded was itself a cross, and answered the same purpose. They to whom the Inquisition no longer offered mercy, walked behind the penitents, and could only see an averted crucifix. Two armed familiars

walked or rode beside each of the condemned, himself mounted on an ass, and two ecclesiastics, probably Theatines, or some such clerks regulars, being in attendance. After these, the images of heretics who had absconded were carried aloft, to be thrown into the flames; and porters came last, tugging under the weight of boxes containing disinterred bodies, on which the harmless execration of the Romish Church had fallen, and which were also to be burnt.

To do honour and service on the occasion, the whole body of civic authorities, high and low, walked in order after that miserable train; then followed the secular clergy; then the regular clergy.

The staff inquisitorial, not to be confounded with meaner mortals on that triumphal day, marched on before, a long space intervening between them and the general procession. They were attended by a strong body of armed familiars, all mounted on horseback, and overshadowed by the banners of the Pope and of the King. They first entered into the grand theatre, and ceremoniously took their place.

This theatre was a temporary wooden erection, very spacious. It was, to speak more correctly, the divided segments of a large amphitheatre, resembling those which are built for bull-fights, except that it was not an unbroken circle, but consisted of separate galleries facing the central area, on two or three sides of a square, with stages for the chief officers of Church and State, and at least one magnificent altar, the fourth side of the square being left open for entrance and egress. On one side of the altar was a pulpit, for the delivery of the sermon and the publication of the sentences; or there may have been two. The members of the procession ascended the galleries in order, and the open area was left free for the ceremonies that were there to take place.

Outside the city—as in the valley of Gehinnom, for the fires of Tophet, and the sacrifices to Moloch—was a hearth, or place of burning. As our own language is too poor to provide a name for such a thing, we consent to borrow from Spanish its peculiar and exclusive designation, and call it the *quemadero*. The quemadero was a piece of pavement devoted to the single use of burning human bodies; and besides other sufficient reasons why it should lie without the walls, there

was this, that the act of killing might be done apart from all the ecclesiastical ceremonies, and so be made, as expressly as possible, that of the civil power. It was also to be avoided that the smoke of those horrid sacrifices should offend the nostrils of the higher clergy; those dignitaries only to whom the sight would be specially agreeable going so far to witness the execution of their own sentence, or they who, for the sake of a superior degree of devotion, might think it comely to attend at the performance of the meritorious deed of sending an impenitent heretic to hell. Sometimes the quemadero was a raised stone platform, as we mentioned before, and was even surmounted with statues or pillars, or other bits of masonry, to distinguish or beautify the spot.

Our attention shall now be chiefly given to the four most famous *Autos-de-Fé* that were celebrated in Spain in the reign of Philip II. Never were heretics baited and consumed with greater pomp. When he was husband of the Queen of England, who exceeded all occupants of this throne in murderous persecution, there was nothing at Oxford or in Smithfield that could approach in display the spectacles we must now describe; and not even in Spain, where the murderous art has been carried to its highest pitch of perfectness, were there ever more complete examples of inquisitorial splendour than the following "*Acts of Faith.*"

## CHAPTER XVI.

### SPAIN : AUTOS-DE-FÉ.

ON Trinity Sunday, May 21st, 1559, was the first royal *Auto-de-Fé* ever celebrated in Spain. It took place in Valladolid, in the great square. The King himself was not able to be there; but the Princess Doña Juana, governess of the kingdom in his absence, and the unhappy Prince, Don Carlos, were on the stage. They were surrounded by the councillors of all the councils that attended the Court, many grandees of Spain, a large number of marquises, counts, viscounts, barons, and untitled gentlemen; ladies of all sorts. A vast concourse of spectators covered the ground. Platforms, stages, chairs of state, galleries, altars, pulpits,—all fitted up with unsparing sumptuousness. Spain had gold like stones of the street then: out of Jews, out of Moors, heretics, and heathens, the treasure, like the blood, was wrung. The courtly spectators were all seated in state, when the procession, marching to the chaunt of litany, entered the area, and they counted sixteen persons wearing penitential badges, brought to be reconciled to the Church, and then to wear away their life in ignominy. There were fourteen, covered with painted devils and red flames, to die by fire. There was a box, too, containing the mortal remains of one who was reported to have died under the taint of Lutheranism; and this lady's effigy was carried on a high pole, as a mark of special shame.

We note the highest class of sufferers more particularly.

*Doña Leonor de Vïbero*, wife of Pedro Cazalla, King's Comptroller, daughter of one who had held the same office, and late proprietress of a chapel and burial-place in the church of the monastery of St. Benedict, in Valladolid. *Doña Leonor* died in communion with the Romish Church,—

communion signified by the ceremonies of confession, mass, and extreme unction. Some prisoners of the Inquisition, when on the rack, or threatened with it, said that she had entertained and acknowledged Lutheran opinions up to the time of her decease; and, on inquiry, it was found that religious meetings were wont to be holden in her house. Sentence was therefore given that she had died in heresy. Her children and grandchildren were pronounced infamous. Their property was confiscated. Her exhumed body was carried in procession to the *Auto*, thence to the quemadero, and there burnt openly. Her effigy was paraded through the streets, with *coroza*, *samarra*, flames, and devils, amidst brutish yells. The house where she had lived, and where the Lutherans had met for prayer, was razed to the ground, and a pillar stood on the site, with an inscription, setting forth the offence, the sentence, and the execution. "I have seen the site, the pillar, and the inscription," says Llorente; "but they tell me that it is no longer to be found; a French general, in the year 1809, having caused this evidence of ferocity towards the dead to be taken down."

The following were burnt:—

1. *Doctor Agustín Cazalla*, presbyter, Canon of Salamanca, Chaplain of Honour and Preacher to the King and to the Emperor, son of Pedro Cazalla, King's Comptroller, and of Doña Leonor just mentioned. They say that he was, in common with many of the first people in Spain, of Jewish extraction. He was accused of being "chief dogmatizing Lutheran heretic of the conventicle of Valladolid, and correspondent of that of Seville." At first he denied the facts, and even swore to the denial; but, when condemned to suffer torture, and taken to the chamber, he confessed, and signed his confession with a promise to be "a good Catholic," if they would allow him to be reconciled under penance. The Inquisitors thought it impossible to remit capital punishment to one who had been accused of dogmatizing; but they encouraged him to hope for mercy, and got him to reveal the history of his life, and many particulars relating to other persons, which might serve their purpose. On the day before this *Auto*, one Fray Antonio de Carrera, a Jeromite monk, went to him, by order of the Inquisition, and told him that

they were not yet satisfied with his declarations, which did not disclose all the truth ; and that it would be for the good of his soul to confess all that he could remember of himself, or that he knew of others. He answered that, without bearing false witness, he could confess no more, for he knew no more. Then, after much conversation, the friar bade him prepare to die the next day. Astounded at this announcement, he asked if there was no hope left for a mitigation of the sentence ; and hearing that there was none, unless he would make a larger confession, he seemed to look to Him, at length, from whom alone mercy could be had. "If it be so," said he, "let me prepare to die in the grace of God ; for, without falsehood, I cannot say more than I have said already." But he obtained exemption from the stake by passing through a form of confession with the friar, and was therefore strangled before the burning of his body.

2. *Francisco de Vibero Cazalla*, brother of the Doctor, was a presbyter, curate of the town of Hormigos. At first he denied the charge of Lutheranism ; but they say he confessed when under torture, and signed the confession ; and it is also said that he implored reconciliation to the Church with penance. Him they would not pity, because, although not a dogmatizer, they thought that his repentance only rose from fear of death. But it does not appear that he did repent. On the contrary, he persevered in confessing Christ ; and when his brother, at the quemadero, was speaking to the spectators under the character of a penitent, he manifested grief and indignation at his unfaithfulness, and gave himself calmly to the flames. Both he and his brother were degraded from the priesthood in the square, before being led away to the place of execution.

3. *Doña Beatriz de Vibero Cazalla*, sister of the two preceding, denied, confessed when on the rack, implored reconciliation and pity, failed to obtain either, was strangled, and then burnt.

4. *Alfonso Perez*, presbyter, Master in Theology, denied, confessed on being tortured, was degraded, strangled, and consumed.

5. *Don Cristóbal de Ocampo*, from Zamora, Knight of the order of St. John, Almoner of the Grand Prior of Castile



and Leon of the same order, was strangled, and thrown into the fire.

6. *Cristóbal de Padilla*, a private gentleman, strangled and burnt.

7. *The Licentiate Antonio Herrezuelo*, advocate, from the city of Toro, condemned as an impenitent Lutheran, died with a good confession. *Agustin Cazalla*, as they were going to the quemadero, exhorted him to follow his example, and by confession, so called, escape the flames, and at the spot continued the exhortation ; but Herrezuelo was unmoved. He sang psalms, and recited passages of Scripture, as they went through the streets, and smiled when they bound him to the stake. He could not then speak, for they had gagged him ; and a soldier of the guard, to signalize his zeal, stabbed him with his halberd ; but the wound was not mortal, and so, bleeding and burning at the same time, he expired.

8. *Juan García*, silversmith. It was his wife who first told the Inquisitor where meetings were held for prayer. *García*, who frequented the house, died, of course. He made the mock confession, and was strangled at the stake ; but the woman was rewarded for betraying her husband with a yearly pension from the treasury of the Holy Office.

9. *The Licentiate Perez de Herrera*, a magistrate of the city of Logroño, was condemned, confessed, strangled, and his body burnt.

10. *Gonzalo Baez*, a Portuguese, condemned as a Judaizing heretic, confessed, and suffered in the same manner.

11. *Doña Catalina de Ortega*, a lady of rank in Valladolid, condemned as a Lutheran, confessed, and died as the others.

12. *Catalina Roman*, a woman from Pedrosa ;

13. *Isabel de Estrada*, a *beata*, or female devotee, of the same town ; and

14. *Juana Blasquez*, servant of the Marchioness of Alcanices, were all conducted to the burning ; and, with the exception of the Portuguese, who was probably of Jewish descent, they all suffered for Lutheranism. It is worthy of grateful remembrance that of this promiscuous company, two refused to make the perilous concession of an external reconciliation with the Church of Rome, and, by confessing the Lord Jesus Christ, openly triumphed over Antichrist.

The sixteen penitent sack-bearers were led back from the parade of that doleful day to the cells of the Inquisition, there to spend one other night. If the rules were kept, the work of persecution was resumed, next morning, with accelerated vigour. For every one who had taken any part in the *Auto*, even but as a spectator, and contributed nothing to it beyond his presence, or perhaps one passing execration on the heretics, forty days' indulgence had been proclaimed. Every one who had rendered any active aid was bidden to rejoice in three years' respite from the pains of purgatory. And every one who would help to make up another burning, by information of another lurking heretic, was incited by an offer of the like indulgence. The Inquisitors, refreshed by a night's repose, met in their palace, and had the sixteen culprits once more into their presence. The sentence given against each was read, and one of the fathers instructed him concerning the manner, the degree, and the duration of his penance. This monition ended, each was sent to his proper place. Some, destined to the galleys, were taken to the civil prison, thence to be transferred to the chain, the oar, and the lash. Some, stripped and flogged, went bleeding through the streets and market-places. Some, covered with *sambenitos* and dragging ropes, were made to show themselves in squares and in churches, there to be tormented by the ribald mob, who heaped on them every sort of insolence. And all were sworn to seal up in everlasting silence all that they had seen, heard, or suffered, under peril of a repeated prosecution. The *sambenitos*, or *zamaras*, worn by the persons burnt, were hung up in the church of the Dominicans, with the name of each, and the word *combustus*, "burnt."

And, meanwhile, the gracious providence of God did not slumber. The Princess Juana, and the young Prince of Asturias, Carlos, in their places on the platform, had been required to swear fidelity to the Holy Office; binding themselves, by that oath, to give notice of everything that they should ever know to be spoken or done against it. The royal persons reluctantly submitted; but the Prince, then but fourteen years of age, writhing under the indignity, eyed every part of the ceremony with horror. The hatred of the Inquisition, and compassion for the Protestants, which then

sprang up within him, cost him his life eventually ; but not until he had contributed to create that jealousy of the horrible tribunal which soon took deep root in the Court of Spain, and never left it until the Inquisition was abolished.

The managers of the next *Auto*, which was in Seville, on Sunday, September 24th, 1559, could not boast of royal presence ; but the Church of God acknowledges a noble band of martyrs who suffered on that day. In the square of St. Francis was the usual apparatus for this kind of service. Four bishops, all men of experience in the immolation of human victims, being Inquisitors of the Faith in Seville, the Chapter of the Cathedral, some grandees, the Duchess of Bejar,—good lady!—knights, many other titles, a train of untitled ladies, with the usual vulgar concourse on the ground, were actors, helpers, witnesses. Twenty-one came to be burnt, followed by one effigy. There were eighteen penitents.

The effigy represented Francisco de Zafra, a beneficed presbyter of the parish-church of St. Vincent, of Seville, condemned as an absent, contumacious, Lutheran heretic. Reynaldo Gonzalez de Montés\* says that he was very learned in the Holy Scriptures, and so skilful in concealing his opinions, that the Inquisitors did not suspect him, but frequently employed him as a trier of doubtful propositions ; and that, in this capacity, he gave a favourable judgment of the writings and speeches of many of his friends, and so served them greatly. A weak-minded *beata*, whom he supported in his house, and who had become acquainted with his connexions, ran mad, and was placed under the severe discipline then thought necessary for maniacs, and confined to her chamber. But she escaped ; and, in revenge, went straight to the Inquisition, asked an audience, and informed against as many as she could think of, Zafra included. By her good help, the Inquisitors made out a list of more than three hundred persons. At first, Zafra succeeded in persuading the Inquisitors that he ought not to be suspected of heretical

\* Better known as Reginaldus Gonsalvus Montanus, author of a small volume intituled "*Sanctæ Inquisitionis Hispaniæ Artes aliquot detectæ*," containing an account of his own experience when a prisoner in the Holy House of Seville.

taint on the testimony of an insane woman ; but they had caught the clue. A multitude of persons were soon in durance, and the prisons in the Castle of Triana, and all available places of confinement in Seville were filled. Zafra was arrested also ; but the suddenness of the procedure made it impossible to provide sure prisons, and he, with several others, effected his escape. His effigy was burnt.

First of those given over to the secular arm was *Doña Isabel de Baena*, a rich lady of Seville, in whose house a congregation had met. She was burnt, and her house razed to the ground, like that of her sister Leonor de Vibero in Valladolid.

2. *Don Juan Gonzalez*, presbyter, of Seville, an eminent preacher, and his two sisters. With admirable constancy, he refused to make any declaration, in spite of extremely severe torture, saying that he had not followed any erroneous opinions, but that he had drawn his faith from Holy Scripture ; and for this faith he pleaded to his tormentors in the words of inspiration. He maintained that he was not a heretic, but a Christian, and absolutely refused to divulge anything that would bring his brethren into trouble. His two sisters were also brought out to this *Auto*, and displayed equal faith. They would confess Christ, they said, and suffer with their brother, whom they revered as a wise and holy man. They were all tied to stakes on the quemadero. Just as the fire was lit, the gag which had silenced Don Juan was removed ; and as the flames burst from the faggots, he said to his sisters, "*Let us sing, Deus laudem meam non tacueris.*" And they sang together, while burning, "Hold not Thy peace, O God of my praise ; for the mouth of the wicked and the mouth of the deceitful are opened against me ; they have spoken against me with a lying tongue." Thus they died in the faith of Christ, and of His holy Gospel.

3. *Fray García de Arias*, called "the White Doctor," from his snow-white hair, an aged monk of the monastery of St. Isidore of Seville. For many years he had entertained evangelical opinions in secret ; but few of the more eminent converts were aware of it. He was universally revered, and thought to be a thorough Romanist, except by the few who knew him intimately. Indeed, he had been among the most zealous opponents of the Reformation and persecutors

of the Reformed. The Inquisitors constantly consulted him on questions of doctrine; he was notorious as a favoured consultor and partisan of the Holy Office; and when his change of views aroused suspicion, and the Inquisitors began to receive accusations against him, they imagined that the Lutherans were endeavouring to revenge themselves, and advised him to be more cautious for the future when in the presence of suspicious persons. His opinions were then changed, but not yet his heart. He was convinced of the truth, but concealed his conviction in the most extraordinary manner.

Then it was that *Gregorio Ruiz*, a preacher in the cathedral of Seville, gave great offence by evangelical expositions of Holy Scripture; and, when he was delated, the Inquisitors resolved to test him by a formal disputation. Ruiz applied to his friend Arias for counsel, who concerted with him a course of argument that seemed cogent enough to reduce the theologians to silence, whoever they might be; but he was amazed to find his friend among the Inquisitors arguing against him, and demolishing the very arguments he had himself suggested. Ruiz yielded. The mysterious contradiction had deprived him of all self-possession. By yielding, however, he escaped the vengeance of the Inquisition; and afterwards Arias told him and other brethren that he had, by that contrivance, averted from the whole party the death that he saw impending over them.

But this dissimulation could not continue. Arias became increasingly earnest, and laboured incessantly in communicating his knowledge of the truth to some who subsequently bore a conspicuous part in the labours of the Reformation. The light could not possibly be covered. Delations were renewed; and the Inquisitors, enraged at finding that they were deceived, threw him into a secret dungeon. His companions had taken timely warning, and fled; but he himself remained in the very jaws of death. Then, in the strength of God, he resolved not to dissemble any more, and made a bold and most explicit confession of his faith, defended his belief concerning justification, the sacraments, good works, purgatory, images, and all the points in controversy, and declared the Romish doctrine to be grossly

erroneous. In short, he turned the attack upon the Inquisitors, who were utterly unable to contend with him. He taxed them with ignorance, and put them to silence with his learning. But such a contest was unequal. They could hide their shame under the veil of secrecy; and he was brought forth with the corroza on his reverend head, and with the cope of infamy. He died, as *they* would say, impenitent, having entered into the pyre rejoicing that, by the grace of God, he could bear witness in a good confession.

4-6. *Fray Cristóbal de Arellano, and his two brothers.* Cristóbal was a member of the same convent, a truly Christian community; and was, even by confession of the Inquisitors, profoundly learned in the Holy Scriptures. And he was no less bold in his confession. They condemned him as a contumacious Lutheran. When, in the square of St. Francis, the "merits" of his cause were read, one of the propositions imputed to him was that the mother of our Lord was no more a virgin than he himself. Unable to suffer so shameful an accusation, he rose, and cried aloud, "That is false! Never have I uttered such a blasphemy. Always have I believed the contrary: and now, and in this place, will I prove out of the Gospel the virginity of Mary!" Such were the *merits* published at those times, to stir up the multitude against the followers of our blessed Saviour. When they reached the quemadero, he was intensely earnest in exhorting two of his brother monks, Crisóstomo and Casiodoro, to stand firm in Gospel truth. Nor was his exhortation lost. They all suffered a triumphant martyrdom.

7. *Fray Juan de Leon*, another inmate of the same monastery, was among those who, after consultation with their brethren, absconded, in hope of saving their lives. Unable to bear separation from Christian society, he secretly returned, but found that they also had fled, and were at Frankfort. Thither he followed them, and thence they proceeded, in one company, to Geneva. At Geneva, hearing that Queen Elizabeth was on the throne of England, instead of Mary, they resolved to seek refuge here, and set out on the journey. From the time, however, that the Christians were known to be fleeing from Seville, the Inquisition employed spies in Milan, Frankfort, Antwerp, and other towns of Italy,

Flanders, and Germany, giving handsome rewards to all who brought back fugitives. Fray Juan was among those who fell into their hands. They caught him in Zealand, just as he was about to embark for England, together with Juan Sanchez; who, just a fortnight afterwards, was burnt in Valladolid. They loaded Fray Juan de Leon with irons on his arms and legs, put an iron cap over his head and shoulders, with a loop passing into his mouth, pressing down "the natural tongue of flesh," and brought him to Seville. When thrown into prison, he confessed his faith, and maintained it bravely, too. Condemned to be delivered to the secular arm, he was brought to the *Auto* with a gag in his mouth, thrust in so cruelly that it caused excessive torture, and gave him a most pitiable appearance. Contrary to custom, he was not shaven; and his haggard, wasted figure presented an appearance scarcely human. They removed the gag when he was at the stake, that he might say the Creed, profess the "Catholic faith," and be confessed, in order to avoid the death by fire. An old schoolmate, priest of the same monastery, implored him to take pity on himself; but he would not hazard the loss of God's mercy, and steadfastly persevered in confessing Christ his Saviour, that he might enter, even through fire, into rest.

8. *The Doctor Cristóbal de Losada*, who had practised as a physician in Seville, and was regarded as the minister in a congregation of the Reformed in that city, resisted every persuasion to recant, directly or indirectly, and was burnt alive.

9. *Fernando de San Juan*, a schoolmaster, at first showed some signs of instability, but recovered strength, confessed boldly, and was burnt alive.

10. *Morcillo*, a monk of St. Isidore, and his fellow-prisoner, who had encouraged him to this effort of constancy, wavered at the last moment, and was strangled by the inquisitorial grace, usually granted to those who make what they have the arrogance to call a "sacramental confession."

11. *Doña Maria de Bohorqués*, illegitimate daughter of a gentleman of Seville, not quite twenty-one years of age. She had been instructed by Doctor Juan Gil, canon-magistral of Seville, and Bishop elect of Tortosa. She knew Latin

well, had some knowledge of Greek, possessed a good library with many Lutheran books, knew much of the sacred text by memory, and was well taught in evangelical doctrine. When confined in a secret dungeon, she made a bold confession, and argued calmly with her persecutors. She acknowledged all that was true in the charges laid against her, and denied what was false or misapprehended ; but maintained an impenetrable silence on whatever would lead to the discovery of others. The Inquisitors put her to the torture, and made her say that her sister Juana had not reproved her for the opinions she entertained. Beyond this they could extort nothing. During the intervening days incessant attempts were made to subdue her constancy, but she overcame them all ; and when a party of priests came, the night before her death, to make a last effort, she thanked them for their pains, but assured them that she was infinitely more interested in her own salvation than it was possible for them to be. When the iron was on her neck at the stake, they bade her recite the Creed, which she did readily ; but began to expound it in such a manner, as to leave no doubt of her consistency. To prevent this, they strangled her ; and her ashes were mingled with those of the martyrs of Seville, than whom there never was a nobler company.

But there was another victim who did not appear in the procession that day, nor at the quemadero.

*Doña Juana Bohorqués* was the sister of Maria. The single word that had escaped from Maria, when in the anguish of torture, was enough for the Inquisitors. She had not reproved her ; there had not been any breach of sisterly affection ; therefore Juana was to be suspected of heresy. Had Juana been a good Catholic, as they call it, she would have made haste to deliver up Maria to the butchers. To be suspected, in the meaning of the Holy Office, is to be guilty ; and this lady was instantly seized, and thrown into the Castle of Triana. As they found that she was soon to become a mother, they allowed her to remain in an upper apartment until the birth of a male child, which was taken from her at the end of eight days ; and, after the lapse of seven more, she was sent down into a dungeon. Then began the trial. Charges were made which she could not acknowledge with



truth, and they were not slow in applying torture. But how could fiends be expected to pity this young mother? To bind her arms and legs with cords, and to gash the limbs with successive strainings by the levers, or to dislocate her joints by swinging her from pulleys, yet sparing vital parts, would have been the usual course of torment, and from all that she might have recovered. But anguish brought no confession: and, as one of their authorities afterwards wrote in the *Cartilla* of that same Holy House, "*there are other parts.*" The savages, in their fury, passed a cord over her breast, thinking to add new pangs; and by an additional outrage of decency, as well as humanity, extort some cry that might serve to criminate husband or friend. But when the tormentor weighed down the bar, her frame gave way, the ribs crushed inwards. Blood flowed from her mouth and nostrils, and she was carried to her cell, where life just lingered for another week, and then the God of pity took her to Himself. The murderers had not committed the least inquisitorial irregularity; for she did not die while in their hands. They needed no absolution, they showed no compunction; but, in fear of scandal, they strove to smother the report. Over her dead body they pronounced a sentence,—not that she was innocent, as some say, but that the accusation of heresy had not been proved. If hell can be upon earth, it must be in an Inquisition.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### SPAIN: MORE AUTOS-DE-FÉ.

HAPPILY for England, Philip II. missed the crown, by the death of his wife, Mary. He had gone over to his hereditary dominions before her decease, and was in Brussels, anxiously negotiating a peace with France, when the first *Auto* took place at Valladolid. His return to Spain was by sea. Having embarked at Flushing, he found his way into the Bay of Biscay, and was within sight of Laredo, when, between rough weather and bad seamanship, his fleet began to founder. In that extremity he made a vow that, if God would permit him to set foot on firm ground again, he would take signal vengeance on the heretics of Spain. He landed, and it was resolved that the vow should be fulfilled without delay in Valladolid.

On Sunday, October 8th, 1559, in the grand square, as before, an *Auto* was celebrated with unprecedented pomp. The "heretics," with their guards, occupied a gallery so contrived, that the culprits might be seen by the spectators on all sides. Independently of the King's oath, it had been pre-determined that he should be recreated by the spectacle now exhibited; and several prisoners were reserved to supply the entertainment. The King was there accordingly; the young Prince of Asturias, for the second time; his sister, also, for the second time; his cousin, the Prince of Parma; three ambassadors from France; the Archbishop of Seville; the Bishops of Palencia and Zamora; several bishops elect; the Constable and Admiral; dukes, marquises, and counts, in good number; high dignitaries ecclesiastical; many grand ladies; and civic authorities in full strength. In short, this Act of Faith was as truly national as it could be made. France, too, was diplomatically represented; and so was

Rome. All southern Europe assented to the deed, and another crime to be retributed was registered on high.

The Bishop of Cuenca preached the Sermon. The prelates of Palencia and Zamora performed the ceremony of degradation on the clerks brought to undergo that last act of ecclesiastical authority. Then Valdés, Archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor-General, advanced to the King, and demanded of him the oath prescribed to "Catholic" sovereigns. The King rose, drew his sword, and brandished it bravely. Valdés read the form, thus:—"It having been ordered, by Apostolical Decrees and sacred Canons, that Kings should swear to favour the Holy Catholic Faith and Christian Religion, does Your Majesty swear by the Holy Cross, with your royal right hand upon your sword, that you will give all favour that is necessary to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and to its ministers, against heretics and apostates, and against those who defend and favour them, and against whatsoever person, directly or indirectly, may impede the efforts and affairs of the Holy Office; and that you will force all your subjects and people to obey and observe the Constitutions and Apostolical Letters given and published in defence of our Holy Catholic Faith against heretics, and against those who believe them, receive them, or favour them?" \* Philip sincerely answered, "*Así lo juro.*" "Thus I swear."

We now turn to the victims.

1. *Don Carlo di Sesso*, native of Verona, son of the Bishop of Piacenza, of noble family, forty-three years of age, a scholar, long in the service of the Emperor, chief magistrate of Toro, married into a Spanish family that boasted descent from Peter the Cruel, had come to reside in Spain, in consequence of his marriage, at Villa Mediana, near Logroño. He was reputed to be the principal teacher of Lutheranism in Valladolid, Palencia, Zamora, and their respective districts. They arrested him in Logroño, and took him to the "sacred" prisons in Valladolid, where he answered to the accusation of the Fiscal on the 18th of June, 1558. On the day before this *Auto*, they told him that he must prepare to die; and

\* Given by De Castro, in his "Spanish Protestants," from a MS. by the Bishop of Zamora, above-mentioned; who recorded the special form as written by himself on the day preceding.

exhorted him to confess whatever he had not yet disclosed, either respecting himself or others. In reply to those exhortations, he asked for paper and ink, and deliberately wrote a full confession of his faith ; adding that the true doctrine of the Gospel was not that which the Church of Rome taught, and had taught through several ages of corruption, but that which he had then written ; and affirmed that he wished to die in the same faith, and to offer up his body to God, through living faith in His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. With indescribable vigour and energy he wrote full two sheets of paper without a pause. Through the whole night the friars laboured to get from him some word of submission, and again on the morning of the day, but without a shadow of success. He therefore appeared at the Sermon with a gag in his mouth, sat gagged during the whole ceremony, and was thus taken to the burning-place, lest he should speak heresy in hearing of the people. Then they bound him to the stake, removed the gag, and again exhorted him to confess. But with great seriousness, and in a loud voice, he answered, "If I had time, I would make you clearly see that you who do not follow my example condemn yourselves. But light up the fire as soon as possible, that I may die in it." They did so immediately, and he died unmoved.

2. *Pedro de Cazalla*, brother of Doctor Agustin Cazalla. He had asked to be reconciled to the Church, but they refused him, because he had dogmatized, or taught. When bound to the stake, and while they were lighting the faggots, he begged permission to be confessed. They confessed him, strangled him, and burnt the body.

3. *Domingo Sanchez*, a presbyter, suffered the same penalty.

4. *Fray Domingo de Rojas*, Dominican and priest, a son of the Marquis of Poza, had shown some irresolution, but was undoubtedly a believer in the Gospel. When leaving his seat to go to the place of execution, he attempted to appeal to the King, who drove him from his presence, and he went gagged to the stake. More than a hundred of his order followed him, entreating him to recant ; but he persisted in an earnest, although inarticulate, refusal. Some of them chose to understand him differently ; and, perhaps to boast falsely

that he had made confession, the Inquisitors allowed him to be strangled.

5. *Juan Sanchez*, an inhabitant of Valladolid, had fled into Flanders, but was discovered, arrested by order of the King, and is now condemned to die. When the cords that had confined him snapped in the fire, he bounded in the air with agony. The priests offered him mercy if he would be confessed; but he called for more fire, which was given, and thus he "kept the faith."

6-14. Besides these five, nine others were put to death that day. One, at least, would have recanted, if thereby she could have saved her life; but it was determined that she should die. Another, in despair, committed suicide, and her body was burnt. The King, be it noted, went from the scaffold to the quemadero, witnessed all the executions, and made his guard assist. There were sixteen sentenced to the *sambenito*, and still there were forty-five prosecutions going forward. One case occurred in connexion with this *Auto* which illustrates the inexorable spirit of the Inquisition, prevailing over those considerations of personal regard which might be expected to find place, sometimes, among the thoughts of even an Inquisitor.

When Doña Maria Miranda, a nun of the Cistercian convent of Bethlehem, in Valladolid, was in the hands of tormentors, it escaped her that one of the sisterhood, *Doña Marina de Guévara*, a lady of high family connexions, partook of her opinions. Marina, perhaps apprehensive of such a disclosure, and not prepared by the grace of God to suffer martyrdom, went to an Inquisitor on that very day, (May 15th, 1558,) and laid what is called a spontaneous information against herself. The Inquisition invited such delations; promised indulgence to all who would bring them; and, in its own code, had laid down a general rule that, in every such case, the Inquisitor receiving the informant should "deal gently with him;" (*semper mitius se habendo erga eum, quia venit per se, non vocatus*;) and the Council of Beziers had determined that a spontaneous self-accuser should not suffer death, exile, imprisonment, nor confiscation of property, if the confession was true and full. (*Pœnitentes et dicentes plenam de se ac de aliis veritatem, habeant impunitatem mortis, immura-*

*tionis, exilii, et confiscationis bonorum.*) Trusting in the letter of the law, and unwilling to suffer for a merely intellectual persuasion, Doña Marina threw herself at the feet of the Inquisitor Guillelmo, and told him that she had admitted some Lutheran opinions as probable, but had never given them full assent, and desired to renounce them altogether. He proceeded, according to the rigour of law, to exact a judicial confession, which she made, and saw reduced to writing by a notary, and again, on the 16th, 26th, and 31st of the August following, returned to him with confidence, to make her voluntary additions, as her memory recalled the most trifling words that she had ever spoken on the points in controversy. But Guillelmo and his colleagues were weaving a net to take their prey.

All the persons whom she named were arrested and examined, and by this means her Lutheranism was made out to the satisfaction of the Inquisitors. They then removed her from the Cistercian convent to their secret prisons, (February 11th, 1559,) and subjected her to three more examinations, but without finding anything to be added to her voluntary declarations. Then the Fiscal (March 3d) read to her twenty-three articles of accusation, most of which she acknowledged to be true, but pleaded that the propositions of those articles expressed her doubts rather than convictions; and, by a petition duly signed by an advocate allowed her, she prayed for absolution. Again, (May 8th,) she applied for another hearing, and afterwards made some slight additions to her confession, which were duly ratified, according to a judicial decree. A summary was then shown to her, with requisition to confess *the whole truth*, and to confirm what others had witnessed, but she had neglected to confess. Yet again, she asked for an audience, (July 5th,) and declared that she had seen the "publication of witnesses," and thought that it must have been given to her rather than she might learn errors than be delivered from them; and that therefore she did not dare to read it, lest some of them should remain in her memory. For the love of God, she prayed them to believe her statement; for, in His sight, and on oath, she had told them the whole truth, and could neither say nor remember

any more. Her former declarations she repeated in a distinct paper, following it up (July 14th) with a petition to be absolved; or, if that were too much to ask, to be reconciled with penance. The abbess and five nuns of her convent certified, on oath, her "good religious conduct." Even the Inquisitor-General, who knew several of her friends, interested himself in her behalf; and, knowing the unfavourable temper of the Inquisitors of Valladolid, sent (July 28th) her cousin, Don Alfonso Tellez Giron, lord of the town of Montalban, and cousin of the Duke of Osuna, to entreat her to confess what the witnesses had deposed against her, and to tell her that by that means only she could escape death. Perhaps dreading the living death of one branded with heresy, she replied that it was impossible, without falsehood, to add anything to the confession already made. The judges were inexorable; and, being assembled with the consulters, (July 29th,) they all voted that she should be put to death, one only dissenting, who advised that she should be laid upon the rack. The Council of the Supreme confirmed their sentence.

Of this, however, she was not informed until the eve of the *Auto*, when the Inquisitor-General, still hoping to save her, sent Don Alfonso once more to advise her to confess all, and save herself from death. The provincial Inquisitors refused him admission, complaining that it was scandalous to display so much anxiety to save that single nun, when many others had been killed for lesser faults. Valdés appealed to the "Supreme," who resolved that their president might be gratified, but that the Inquisitors, or one of them, should be present at the conference, together with her advocate. This was done, but Marina still refused to make a false confession, even to save her life; and she therefore suffered the *garrote*, and her body was burnt. The sentence read at the *Auto* was remarkable, for all in it that is definite may be summed up in few words:—That she had heard some one constantly repeat this passage, *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ*: she thought that it sounded well, and believed it, although she understood not in what sense. For this only she was put to death; and so unanimous were all

others in the sentence, that not even the Inquisitor-General could save her !

The Inquisitors at Seville had hoped for the presence of the King at a second *Auto* in that city, as well as at Valladolid, but were disappointed, and therefore deferred its celebration until December 22d, 1560 ; when thirteen persons and three effigies were burnt, and thirty-four condemned to penance.

One of the effigies was of *Doctor Juan Gil*, or Egidius, a canon-magistral of the cathedral of Seville. He had been prosecuted for Lutheran opinions, and underwent imprisonment in the Castle of Triana. After that punishment he renewed his intercourse with the Reformed, and took a journey to Valladolid to see them, but soon died, and was buried at Seville. Among other discoveries in the course of their inquests, the judges of the Holy Office made that of his communion with the persons whom they were labouring to extirpate : they instituted a suit against his body, and caused it to be exhumed and burnt, together with his effigy. They confiscated his property, and declared his name infamous.

Another effigy represented the *Doctor Constantino Ponce de la Fuente* ; also magistral-canon of Seville, a fellow-student of Gil in the university of Alcalá de Henares, and his successor in the canonry. With him he had laboured to promote the study of the Holy Scriptures, and, from the pulpit of the cathedral, to elevate the standard of popular exposition. Profound learning and extraordinary eloquence brought him the patronage of the Emperor, who made him one of his honorary chaplains, and preacher. For several years he followed the imperial court in Germany. Vast congregations heard him in the cathedral of Seville ; and his reputation as a philosopher, a theologian, and a Greek and Hebrew scholar, commanded universal deference. But his sermons abounded in propositions which were marked as Lutheran, and reported to the Inquisition, whence came spies to gather evidence, and contribute to the preparation of a charge. At length, some papers, written by his hand, were found in the house of a lady whom they had imprisoned for heresy ; and these papers furnished copious



evidence that his belief was in utter opposition to the Roman dogma. In a secret dungeon the papers were laid before him; and he not only acknowledged them to be his own, but defended the doctrines therein written, and steadfastly refused to say a word that would betray his brethren. Enraged and mortified, they threw him into a subterranean cell, damp and pestiferous, where he could scarcely shift his position for want of room, and where no relief was allowed him even for the necessities of nature. Oppressed beyond endurance, he exclaimed, "O, my God! were there no Scythians, cannibals, nor beings yet more cruel and more inhuman, in whose power Thou couldst have left me, rather than these barbarians?" But life could not endure in such a place, and by an attack of dysentery he was delivered from their power. There was none to tell of anything concerning him in the hour of death; and all we know is, that he was one of a countless multitude of victims whose only perfect record is in heaven.

*Fray Fernando*, a monk of St. Isidore, suffered about the same time, for the same cause, and in the same manner; and was also represented by an effigy.

*The Doctor Juan Perez de Pineda* had escaped the clutches of his persecutors by a timely flight, and they laid their vengeance on his effigy.

1. *Julian Fernandez*, a Spaniard, deacon, it is said, of a Lutheran church in Germany, was among the thirteen living victims. From the remarkable smallness of his person, he was known as *Julian el chico*,—the little. Dressed as a muleteer, exceedingly shrewd and active, he travelled between France and Spain, concealing books among the goods that he carried; and traversing the country, not only through Castile, but even into Andalusía, he delivered the principal works of the Reformers to persons of education and rank in several of the chief cities in Spain. His learning, skill in argument, and piety, were not less remarkable than the diligence and courage with which he baffled for several years all the vigilance of the Inquisitors; and, in hourly peril of the death which now befell him, had cheerfully hazarded his life for the sake of Christ. Great pains were taken to pervert him during his imprisonment. Relays of monks

tried their skill, but to no effect. When a party of beaten disputants had left his cell, he would exult in their discomfiture, and cheer his fellow-prisoners by singing,—

*"Vencidos van los Frailes, vencidos van ;  
Corridos van los lobos, corridos van."*

*"There go the friars, there they run !  
There go the wolves, the wolves are done !"*

The wolves tried the virtue of the rack, after argument had failed. But he gave no clue for the discovery of those who had aided him in his peculiar mission through nearly the whole length of the Peninsula. Lest he should spoil the decorum of this *Auto* by unwelcome speech, they brought him gagged. Two priests who knew the doctrine of the Gospel, but fought against conviction, came to persuade him to be confessed ; but he sternly repelled them, reproving their hypocrisy with contemptuous frowns ; drew a faggot of dry wood near his head, that it might help to consume him quickly ; and, by the grandeur and constancy of his faith, filled the spectators with amazement.

2. *Francisca de Chaves*, a nun of the order of St. Francis of Asia, in the convent of Santa Isabel, in Seville, gave herself up to martyrdom. She had used great plainness of speech after her imprisonment, telling the Inquisitors, as our Lord told the Pharisees, that they were a "generation of vipers." They classed her as pertinacious, and burnt her alive.

"The supreme and universal Inquisition" condescended not to heed any rights of nation, but gloried in the sacrifice of three foreigners in this festival of blood.

3. *Nicholas Burton*, a citizen of London, had traded with Spain in a vessel of his own ; and, about two years before, being at Cadiz, was arrested by a familiar. His alleged offence was having spoken something contrary to the religion of the country, in conversation with some persons in Cadiz, and with some others in S. Lúcar de Barrameda. What that something was does not appear ; but the real cause of his arrest was his being owner of a fine ship, and, as the Inquisitors believed, of all the cargo, and other valuable property. Surprised at finding himself arrested without a word of accusation, he demanded the reason, but was answered only with threatenings ; dragged to the common

prison; kept in irons fourteen days; and, not imagining himself to be there as a heretic, but on false accusation of some other kind, unconsciously supplied his persecutors with material for their purpose, by exhorting the prisoners to repentance, and explaining to them the word of God. Witnesses to his heresy being thus made, they conveyed him to Seville, laden with irons, and threw him into a secret prison in the Triana. There he must have lain for two years at least; and now he was brought forth into the theatre, in the attire of an obstinate heretic, "his tongue forced out of his mouth with a cloven stick fastened upon it, that he should not utter his conscience and faith to the people;" and whatever were the torments he had suffered, or the confession he made before his tormentors, we know them not. Llorente found records to the effect that he was a contumacious Lutheran heretic; that he remained constant in his sect, and was burnt alive; the Holy Office of Seville taking possession of ship and cargo.

In hope of recovering that ship and cargo, a Bristol merchant, in part owner, sent his attorney, *John Frampton*, to demand restoration. Frampton spent four months in Seville in useless legal formalities, when the Spanish lawyers pronounced his powers insufficient, and he returned to England for a more ample commission. Being thus furnished, he landed a second time at Cadiz, where servants of the Inquisition seized him, set him on a mule, "tied him with a chain that came under the belly of the mule three times about, and, at the end of the chain, a great iron lock made fast to the saddle-bow." Two armed familiars rode beside him; and thus he went to Seville, alighted within the walls of the old prison, and was thrown into a dungeon, where he found some Spaniards under treatment for heresy. Next day he was interrogated as to his name, travels, calling, and relations; and, lastly, required to say the "Hail, Mary." His recitation did not include the Romish addition, "Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners;" and this served for proof that he might be detained as an English heretic, that the course of law might be interrupted, and that the ship and cargo might be retained by the Inquisitors. After this he was racked, and at the end of fourteen months brought

out in a *sambenito*. Burton saw his baffled advocate among the penitents, yet not knowing who he was; and Frampton, having seen Burton burnt alive, was taken back to prison for another fourteen months, and then released under the usual humiliating injunctions, with an obligation to abide in Spain. But a favouring Providence restored him to England, and he divulged the whole. He lost £760 cash, and understood—let this be well noted—that the gains of the Inquisition by that single *Auto* were above £50,000.

4, 5. *William Brook*, a mariner of Southampton, and *Barthélemi Fabienne*, a Frenchman, were burnt on the same quemadero with Burton, Frampton being witness.

6–10. The reader may remember that a *mad woman* had given the first information of the Reformed congregation in Seville. Recovered from insanity, the poor woman regained enjoyment of religion, and died for it in this *Auto*, with *Leonor Gomez*, her sister, wife of a physician, and with *Elvira Nuñez*, *Teresa Gomez*, and *Lucia Gomez*, her unmarried daughters. One of these daughters was imprisoned first, but made no disclosure. The Inquisitor then tried a novel and horrible method. He had her brought into the audience-chamber, sent his subordinates out of the room, and professed that he had fallen in love with her,—that he was resolved to save her life. Day after day he repeated the declaration, and at length persuaded the poor girl that he was indeed her lover. He then told her that, although she knew it not, her mother and sisters were accused of heresy by many witnesses, and that, for the love he bore to her, he desired to save them; but that, in order to effect his object, he must be fully informed of their case, under secrecy, that he might so proceed as to save them all from death. She fell into the snare, and told him all. His point was gained. Their conversation ended. The very next day he called her to another audience, and made her declare, judicially, what she had revealed to him in the assumed character of lover. That was enough. The mother and her daughters were sent together to the flames. And the fiend saw his victims burnt.

11–13. A monk and two women complete the list of those condemned to fire.

Enough of *Autos* for the present. They henceforth became

ordinary spectacles, as familiar to Spaniards in the great towns as are bull-fights at this day. Each particular Inquisition had its annual celebration, which was thought necessary to keep up a wholesome dread of the clergy, to fill the pockets of members of the tribunal, and to entertain the public. A rumour of heresy, or any sudden impulse of suspicion, cupidity, or even fear, would arouse the tribunal to special action, and add an extraordinary spectacle to the ordinary one for the year current.

Drunken with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus, Popery ranged in this age over some of the fairest regions of the globe; its foot-prints everywhere trailed with blood. Spain, its most abject slave, was also its most ruthless agent in wreaking vengeance on the Reformation. But by this time Spain herself began to flag in the disgraceful service; and Spanish sovereigns and their servants had already done quite enough to provoke the indignation of mankind, and to make their own infamy indelible. By force of arms they had laid waste the fields of empire opened to them by Columbus in America, and stolen thence wealth enough to feed the pride, and enervate the strength, of a people made prematurely rich. They had murdered or banished millions of their best subjects. First, the Jews, the artificers and merchants by whose means chiefly the prosperity and intelligence of their country were maintained. Then the Moors, whose fathers made the lands of the southern half of Spain a garden, where now ruined palaces and castles, and a few highly-cultivated spots in Valencia, indicate the forsaken homes and the abandoned labours of an extinct people.

After all this, by death, or exile, countless thousands of real or suspected Lutherans were also lost to Spain; and only one institution was left that for a time, at least, could flourish, and that one was the Inquisition.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### SPAIN: THE CASE OF CARRANZA, PRIMATE OF SPAIN.

SWIFTLY did the retribution of God's providence overtake the guilty. While Philip II. was presiding at the murder of Christian men and women in Valladolid, one of his chief assistants in persecution, no less a person than the Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain, had lain for six weeks a prisoner of the Inquisition in that same city.

Bartolomé Carranza was born of noble parents in Miranda, a town of Navarre, in the year 1503. In 1520, having made good advance in study, he entered a Dominican monastery in Alcarria, now called Guadalajara. As soon as he had professed, he was sent to Salamanca to study theology, and in 1525 became fellow of the college of St. Gregory, in Valladolid. But during this honourable career he allowed himself a greater freedom of thought than consisted with the required submission to his Church; and in 1530 a lecturer of his college delated him to the Inquisitor Moriz, who already suspected him of unsound opinions. Another friar also complained of him. He was examined, and censured for having defended some propositions of Erasmus, and for having spoken lightly of some vulgar superstitions; but his reputation was so well established that the Inquisitors did no more than record their examinations, and dismiss the case, which probably remained unknown to all except the persons concerned, and certainly was not remembered to his prejudice. Although it eventually became evident that there must have been a germ of Lutheranism in him, he was not yet suspected of heterodoxy, and the rector and councillors of St. Gregory recommended him, in that same year, to the chair of Philosophy. In 1533 they named him Regent of Theology, and in 1534 they made him Regent-Major. Then he became Theologian Quali-

ficator, or Examiner, of the Holy Office of the Inquisition of Valladolid, and in that capacity often acted. In 1539 he was raised to the General Chapter of his order in Rome, and with great credit assumed the dignity, passing through his inauguration with applause. Amongst other honours was that of permission to read prohibited books, conferred on him by Paul III.

In 1540 he was again in Valladolid, shining as Doctor of Theology in the professorial chair, generally esteemed for good qualities which become the clerical office, and so splendidly charitable that, on the failure of a harvest, he sold all his books—except the Bible and the Sum of St. Thomas—to feed the poor: and yet he had no charity for heretics. He now laboured incessantly in the Holy Office, examining processes, and, in his own house, censoring books that were sent to him from the Council of the Supreme. In the public square of the city he preached the Sermon at the first burning of a Lutheran, Francisco San Roman, in 1544; witnessed the martyr's patience, triumphant over fear of death; and heard his last remonstrance, "Do you envy me my happiness?" He became an eminent preacher of those bitter discourses. The bishopric of Cuzco, in America, was offered to him, but he refused it; and in 1545 took his place in the Council of Trent, as theologian of the Emperor, foremost among those who declaimed against the non-residence of bishops, and exalted the episcopate at the expense of the pontificate. He was one of the stoutest pillars of his Church in Spain. He spent three years in Trent, and at that time enlarged his reputation by appearing as an author. On his return to Spain in 1548, he was appointed confessor to Philip II., to accompany His Majesty in Flanders and Germany; but he declined that honour also, and in 1549 refused the bishopric of the Canaries. He accepted, however, the priorate of the Dominican convent of Palencia, and there expounded St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians; unconsciously to himself, perhaps, treading in the steps of Luther. In 1550 he was elected Provincial of Castile, and rigorously enforced discipline in his visitation of the monasteries of that province. In 1551, when the Council of Trent was opened a second time, Carranza was there again by order of the Emperor,

acted as proxy of the Archbishop of Toledo, and perseveringly took part in all the sessions and congregations.

To him was first entrusted the formation of an Index of Prohibited Books, for which purpose large numbers of volumes were put into his hands. He examined the volumes, destroyed such as it pleased him to condemn, and gave the "good ones" to the Dominican convent of San Lorenzo of Trent; and, on returning to Valladolid, devoted himself, with eminent zeal and application, to similar toils in the service of the Inquisition. Little could he have thought that, before the completion of that Index, his own name would be registered on the same pages with the names of men whom he was burning.\*

When marriage was agreed on between his King Philip and our Queen Mary, he came over to prepare, in conjunction with Cardinal Pole, for the reconciliation of England to the See of Rome, and obedience to the Pope. "The King followed, and words cannot describe the labour of Carranza in favour of the Catholic religion. He preached continually; he convinced and converted heretics without number, and confirmed many waverers, answering their arguments verbally and in writing. In 1555 Philip went from London to Brussels, and Carranza remained with the Queen, to assist her in settling the Catholic doctrine in the Universities, and attending to other important objects. By order of Cardinal Pole, the Pope's Legate, he drew up the canons that were to be passed in a National Council. He was zealous for the punishment of several pertinacious heretics, particularly Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of England, and Martin Bucer, a famous dogmatizer of the errors of Luther, which several times brought him within

\* By the care of the late Rev. Joseph Mendham, of Sutton-Coldfield, we have a literal reprint of that *First Index*. Under the letter T., "Auctores, quorum libri et scripta omnia prohibentur. *Thomas Cranmerus*." Under the letter B, "Certorum Auctorum libri prohibiti. *Bartholomæi Carranzæ Mirandensis Catechismus*." This Index was printed in 1560. In the last Spanish Index the same book is archived thus:—"Carranza de Miranda (D. Fr. Bartholomé) su Catechismo, en todo idioma, y Comentarios sobre el." He is quietly put down as a friar in the latter Index. In the former his proper title is suppressed, and he is made to appear as plain Carranza de Miranda.



a little of death.\* In 1557 he went over to Flanders, to inform King Philip of what had taken place in England; and with the greatest earnestness he collected and burnt books containing Lutheran doctrine. In Frankfort he did the same, by means of Fray Lorenzo de Villavicencio, an Augustinian religious, whom he sent for that purpose, dressed as a man of the world; and in Spain again, telling the King that such books were introduced by way of Aragon, which His Majesty communicated to the Inquisitor-General, that he might have them seized. With the same intent he formed a list of the Spanish fugitives from Seville and other places, who were living in Germany and Flanders, and who sent heretical books to Spain; which list was found among his papers, when they were all taken from him at the time of his arrest." Thus does Llorente set forth his merits.

On the death of the Archbishop of Toledo he was offered that see, the highest ecclesiastical dignity in Spain, but manifested such reluctance that it became necessary for Philip to command him by his obedience and fealty as a vassal to accept it; and that injunction was also found among his papers. On the 16th of December, 1557, his preconization took place in a consistory of cardinals at Rome; the Pope, Paul IV., having dispensed with the usual precaution of taking information from persons in his diocese, saying that such information was not necessary for Carranza de Miranda, whom he had intimately known in Trent, and of whose services in England, Germany, and Flanders he had such abundant intelligence. Carranza, therefore, was one of the last persons to be a prisoner in the Inquisition, and one of the most likely to wear a red hat or the triple crown. But all this time there were secret agencies at work to effect his ruin.

Many prelates had been offended by his insisting, in the Council of Trent, on the residence of bishops in their dioceses, and by his publishing a treatise on the subject. Many aspirants after honour were jealous of his advancement. On his nomination to the archbishopric, a monk of his own order, Melchor Cano, broke out into declared

\* We shall not digress to examine this statement. If Carranza was *thought* to have hazarded his life in labouring to suppress heresy, his claim on the Inquisition for favourable consideration ought to have been the more readily acknowledged.

enmity, and so did Juan de Regla, confessor of Charles V. The Inquisitor-General, Valdés, partook of the same feeling; as did Pedro de Castro, Bishop of Cuenca, and several others. They concealed their malice, but sought in secret how to humble him, and did not despair of finding some heresy in his writings or discourses that might serve their purpose.

For some time past the Archbishop had been composing "Commentaries on the Christian Catechism," that is to say, on the Apostles' Creed, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments. It was printed at Antwerp, in 1558. The sheets were sent to Valladolid as they were printed off, and read with avidity both by friends and foes. Among the latter, Melchor Cano gave his utmost diligence to detect heresy, and declared in all companies that it was full of ill-sounding and dangerous propositions, smelling strongly of Lutheranism. The Inquisitor Valdés bought several copies, and put them into the hands of examiners, whom he charged to make notes privately, and keep silence for the present. To Castro, Bishop of Cuenca, it would seem that Valdés had made special request for a prompt report. Castro soon reported that there were Lutheran propositions under the title of *Justification*; that he had a very bad opinion of the belief of the author, for he had heard him speak in the same manner in the Council of Trent; and that, although he had not then believed that Carranza admitted error in his heart, he did *now* believe it; that the Lutheran propositions were many, and very frequent, betraying an inward sentiment; and that other circumstances, already explained to Doctor Antonio Perez, Councillor of the Supreme Inquisition, concurred to induce this judgment. The industry of the chief Inquisitor and his coadjutors quickly collected a mass of evidence to inculpate Carranza. Those Commentaries I have not seen, but should infer from the whole history of the affair, gathered from various sources, that, while the head of the Church in Spain was active in his endeavours to put down heresy, and diligent in his perusal of the writings of the Reformers, he fell, perhaps at first imperceptibly to himself, under the influence of truth.

De Castro said that he had heard him preach in London three years before, in the King's presence, when, in an

apostrophe to the Saviour enthroned in glory, he spoke of justification by living faith in such terms as a Lutheran might have used. In other sermons preached in England he spoke heretically, said this reporter, concerning sin, and not respectfully enough of the Bulls of the Crusade, which, he had imprudently stated, were on sale in Spain for two reals each,—“perilous language” to escape a man’s lips in England, and in the hearing of heretics. Some one had even whispered, after one of those sermons, “Carranza has preached just as Philip Melancthon might.” But if Carranza had continued a plain friar, no one would have given those things a second thought.

Several persons were interrogated concerning what they had heard, seen, said, or thought of the Archbishop; but not much could be gathered from their answers. Some one, however, had heard some one say, that he had said that he “saw no clear proofs in Scripture of the existence of a purgatory.” Yet the same person thought that he must believe in such a place, because he had strongly recommended foundations to pay for masses for the dead. Many witnesses were examined on this point; but their testimony showed that Carranza really believed and taught the purgatorial fable. Some, who had been in his confidence, stated that, having licence to read prohibited books, he had borrowed some things from them, and inserted them in his own writings; but was accustomed to observe that heretics mingled good and bad so artfully together, that even their good sayings were not to be trusted.

A Franciscan monk deposed that he had heard Carranza say, in a sermon, many things which coincided with other things that Lutherans were wont to say. He had affirmed that “mercy should be shown to converted heretics; and that sometimes persons are reputed to be Quietists, Alumbrados, and so on, if they be only seen on their knees, beating their breasts with a stone before a crucifix.” This very sermon was afterwards found among his papers, tested, and reported sound in Romish faith. One witness, when on the rack, said that he had heard Carranza say that if a notary were to come to his bedside when he was dying, he would bid him take his confession “that he renounced all merit of good

works, and only desired to avail himself of the works of Christ; and that his sins were as if they never had been, since Christ had made atonement for them all." Others confirmed this evidence by saying that they had often heard him use like expressions, but thought them admissible in a Catholic sense.

Fray Juan de Regla ran to tell that when the Archbishop of Toledo was at Yuste, visiting the Emperor Charles V. on his death-bed in the convent, he used Lutheran expressions concerning the pardon of sin; and that, when arguing in the Council of Trent, he had manifested a scandalous indulgence towards the Lutheran heresy on the sacrifice of the mass, and once went so far as to say, "I certainly agree." (*Ego hæreo certe.*) But other witnesses disproved this charge. Perhaps the most remarkable saying of Carranza was one that he addressed to the dying Emperor, exhorting him to trust in the merits of Christ alone. But everything that malignity could collect from common report, from persons under torture, or in the audience-chamber of the Inquisition, or from unguarded passages in his Commentaries, was thrown together; and as his dignity was higher than that of the Inquisitor, Valdés had a summary of the charges prepared, and sent it to the Pope, with a request that he might be authorized to make the Primate of Spain a prisoner. In compliance with this request, Paul IV., by a Brief, surrendered his friend into the clutches of the Inquisition; and his successor, Pius IV., who came to the Papacy before Valdés had accomplished his purpose, confirmed the Brief.

On receiving this confirmation from the new Pope, Valdés made an official record of his receipt of the powers, and the Fiscal of the Inquisition soon afterwards applied to him for permission to proceed, by virtue of that authority, against a personage whom he did not name, but whose name he would make known in due time. After some further formalities of office, the Fiscal presented a second petition, setting forth "that Don Fray Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda, Archbishop of Toledo, had preached and pronounced, written and dogmatized, in conversations and in sermons, in his Commentaries, and in other books and papers, many heresies of Luther, as appeared from witnesses, books, and writings, which he pre-

sented, and promised to accuse him more in form. Wherefore he prayed that the Archbishop might be taken, shut up in secret prisons, and his property and revenue seized and placed at the disposal of the Inquisitor-General." Valdés consulted the Council, and the Fiscal was ordered to prepare the documents, which was done accordingly.

Everything being thus made ready, Valdés consulted the King, who had previously consented to the proceeding, and only required that when the *person* of Carranza came into their power, his *dignity* should be respected. Still, there was much correspondence between the King and Carranza, as well as with Valdés; and while the subject of persecution had sufficient information to expect severe censure, he had no reason to apprehend any personal suffering. To expedite the matter, some more witnesses were found, and a stronger case made out. The Fiscal then repeated his application to seize Carranza, and put him under arrest.

The Inquisitor-General (August 1st, 1559) decreed permission to the Fiscal to imprison the Archbishop. King Philip had written to his sister Juana, Governess of Spain in his absence, desiring her to call the Primate up to court under some decent pretext, and let him be there taken into custody, to avoid the scandal and trouble of executing an order of the Holy Office at his residence in Alcalá.\* A false report was therefore circulated of the King being on his way to Spain; and the Princess Juana herself wrote the Primate a letter, desiring him to hasten to Valladolid, where the court then was, to await the arrival of His Majesty. The cold and treacherous lie, told in the service of the Church, was no doubt considered highly meritorious.

Scarcely had the morning of the 9th of August begun to dawn, when Rodrigo de Castro, brother of one of Carranza's capital enemies, bearing the royal letter, alighted in the town of Alcalá de Henares, at the gate of the archiepiscopal palace, and hastened to put the letter into his hands. He read that the Princess wished to see him at Valladolid as soon as possible; desired him not to wait for his usual equipage, but

\* Up to this point Llorente is the chief authority. Adolfo de Castro, in his "Spanish Protestants," furnishes the circumstances of Carranza's imprisonment, from evidently authentic sources.

to travel with all speed ; and promised that everything necessary for his public appearance should be provided at his lodgings. He instantly prepared to travel, and ordered a solemn procession to be made, next day, to pray for the safe arrival of the King. De Castro, however, was so much fatigued with his rapid journey, that he had to lie in bed for some days ; while Carranza, after the unpleasant correspondence which had taken place, had not much heart to expedite his departure. He did not believe, perhaps he did not suspect, that such danger was so near ; yet he was not very unwilling to let a few days pass while the messenger recovered, that they might set out together, and perform the journey with such comfort as might be, and with decorum.

Just a week after the arrival of this De Castro, another messenger came to Alcalá. It was the chief officer of the Inquisition of Toledo, who immediately visited the Archbishop, telling him that Don Diego Ramirez, Inquisitor of that tribunal, would arrive that very night, to publish an Edict of the Faith ; and Carranza immediately caused proclamation to be made for celebrating it in the Church of San Francisco. The Archbishop himself was to preach the sermon, and a vast congregation assembled in the church. The hour for the sermon being come, the Primate ascended one pulpit, and the person appointed to read the edict occupied another. The person who represented the Inquisitor—for Ramirez himself had disappeared—sent a message desiring the reader to wait until after his reverence should have preached. Carranza delivered the sermon with great earnestness, exhorted the people to obey the edict, by informing against all whom they suspected of heresy, and eloquently descanted on the good that from such obedience would redound to their souls. The edict was then read ; but it was afterwards remarked that it contained no reference to prohibited books, which silence was thought to have been respectful to the dignity of the Archbishop, whose person was so nearly in their power.

After a delay of eight days, the illustrious prisoner and his disguised keeper set out from Alcalá. The Archbishop had now arranged to stop at some places by the way, for the purpose of holding confirmations.

At Fuente del Saz he met with Fray Felipe de Menezes, a professor of one of the colleges of Alcalá, who called him aside ; told him that a rumour was current in Valladolid that the Holy Office had resolved on arresting the Archbishop of Toledo ; and advised him, as Providence had allowed him intimation of the report, either to return to Alcalá, or to hasten to Valladolid without delay, where, perhaps, he might find some way of extrication from the threatening peril. To this he is said to have replied that such a rumour was incredible,—that the Princess herself had summoned him, and sent Don Rodrigo de Castro to convey her desires. And he could appeal to God, he said, to witness whether at any period of his life he had been tempted to fall into any error, the cognizance of which could, in any way, pertain to the Inquisition. On the contrary, God had made him instrumental to the conversion of more than two millions of heretics.

On Sunday, August 20th, in the morning, the Archbishop reached Tordelaguna ; and there was Father Master Fray Pedro de Soto, who told him that his correspondent, Fray Luis de la Cruz, had just been arrested in Valladolid. “What do you say, Father Master ?” answered Carranza in surprise. “Then, according to this, I suppose they will also wish to make *me* a heretic ?” Fray Pedro assured him that, in fact, Inquisitors had already quitted Valladolid to take him. And he left the Archbishop in great perplexity.

It was too true. The men were actually present. During four days the chief alguacil of the Council of the Inquisition had been concealed in an inn at Tordelaguna ; he lay in bed by day, and at night had gone with two servants on horseback, in disguise, to visit Rodrigo de Castro at Talamanca. Having returned, he hid himself in the inn again. He had also sent to Alcalá, and informed Diego Ramirez that he was there in readiness ; and Diego, in order to complete the plan, pretended that he had an urgent call to Madrid, hurried away from Alcalá, and joined him. This departure caused a great stir in Alcalá, which was increased by the distribution of twenty wands of justice to as many men, who were mounted on horseback, and led out of the town by a servant of the Inquisition, none of them knowing whither or wherefore.

He travelled by devious roads, impressing others into the same service, as they went; and on Tuesday, 22d, at day-break, a party of nearly a hundred men were within half a league of Tordelaguna. These men were exhorted to obey the Holy Office, and be constant to it in what they were about to do; but they had not the slightest intimation of what that would be. Tordelaguna was the chief of three towns, all under one jurisdiction; and it would appear that the Archbishop continued there, in the discharge of his functions, during the whole week, knowing that imprisonment awaited him in Valladolid, and afraid to seem to flee by turning out of the road, which would cause the Inquisitors to treat him as a fugitive.

On the Sunday night, 27th, Rodrigo de Castro supped with the Archbishop; and, under pretence of fatigue, left early, went to his own host, and arranged for impressing a dozen more assistants. He then returned privately, and bade Salinas, host of the Archbishop, have all the doors of his house open at break of day. About one o'clock, Rodrigo and his servants went to the house of the governor of the three towns, who had married a sister of Carranza, entered, seized the governor, and left him a prisoner under guards. So did they with all the civil authorities, and no civil authority durst resist them. These doings kept them busy until day-break. By that time Ramirez and his company were arrived; so that a strong body of men, impressed into the service of the Inquisition, stood ready to earn merits by doing as they might be commanded.

Ramirez, De Castro, the alguacil, and a few men with wands, went up stairs, and knocked at the door of an ante-chamber, where a lay friar, in attendance on the Archbishop, was sleeping. "Who calls?" cried the friar. "Open to the Holy Office," said they. Instantly the door was open. Leaving the guards there, they walked through to the chamber of the Archbishop, knocked at the door, and, when he called, answered again, "The Holy Office." "Is Don Diego Ramirez there?" asked he; and, on hearing that he was, he bade a page open the door. Rodrigo entered first, approached the bed, knelt on one knee, and begged his reverence to give him his hand, and pardon him. Then he



beckoned to the alguacil, who came forward, and said, "Most illustrious señor, I am commanded by the Holy Office to make you its prisoner." "Have you orders to do that which you are now undertaking to do?" "Yes, señor." And he produced and read an order of the Inquisitor-General, and the Council of the Inquisition. "But these gentlemen are not aware that they cannot be my judges; being, as I am, by my dignity and consecration, immediately subject to the Pope, and to no other person." Then Don Diego advanced, saying, "On this point your reverence shall have entire satisfaction;" and, drawing the Pope's Brief from under his robe, read it. It was unanswerable; and the Archbishop surrendered himself without another word.

In obedience to the wish of Philip, they refrained from insolence of language, but made him feel the humiliation and bitterness of his new condition. The remonstrances of a few faithful servants were soon silenced. They kept him under arrest that day, and the next midnight set him upon a mule, and a party of armed familiars conducted him out of the town. On entering Valladolid, he begged as a favour that he might be lodged in the house of a friend, a principal inhabitant of the city, and was told by De Castro that his desire should be gratified. He was taken to the house, and, at first, could scarcely believe himself a prisoner. But restraints multiplied: the building had been previously bought by the Inquisition, apparently for this very purpose; and the shadows of an impenetrable secrecy soon closed round the captive.

The Inquisitor-General and his Council proceeded to the usual ceremonies of examination; but he refused to acknowledge their jurisdiction, and appealed to the Pope. They claimed power by virtue of the Brief; but he maintained that when that document was granted, authorizing the prosecution of suspected archbishops or other prelates in Spain, there was neither archbishop nor other prelate in Spain suspected of heresy; that, at that time, he was not in Spain, but in the Netherlands, labouring for the extirpation of heresy and the exaltation of the Church; and that, therefore, the Brief could not possibly have reference to himself. For this reason he refused to answer any question, or, by any

act, or any submission, to acknowledge the jurisdiction of Valdés, even as a delegate of the Pope, because he was his enemy; and the letter of inquisitorial law allowed a prisoner to object to the evidence of a known enemy.

The elevation of his rank, the confusion and obscurity of the answers given by witnesses, the favourable judgment of his Commentaries on the Catechism already pronounced by many of the most eminent Spaniards, and a serious division of opinion in the Supreme Council, concurred to deter the Inquisition from proceeding in this case as if it were that of an inferior person. They even feared the effects of popular indignation, if they should dismiss the cause without being able to make out a justification of their conduct in beginning it. Nearly a hundred new witnesses were examined, but without any definite result; and Carranza, by his advocate, Azpilcueta, had appealed to the Supreme Pontiff. Year after year passed away in litigation and delays, he being still in custody; and, meanwhile, the Council of Trent, in spite of the remonstrances of Philip, had appointed a Commission to examine his Commentaries, and received a favourable report. In short, the question became one of relative powers; the Court of Rome claiming jurisdiction on one side, and the King and Inquisition of Spain on the other.

At length the Pope superseded Valdés, by appointing a coadjutor to act for him, on pretence that his age rendered him incapable; forbade him to take any further part in the affair of the Archbishop of Toledo, and revoked the cause to be tried in Rome. Rome could no longer be resisted altogether; and although the Inquisitors did not obey the Pope by setting him at liberty without requiring any security for his further appearance, they allowed him, as their prisoner, to be conveyed to Rome.

Conducted by a strong military escort, he left the prison in Valladolid, after a confinement of six years and a quarter, and embarked at Cartagena on the 27th of April, 1567. After some delay in that port, the ship sailed; and Carranza was on his voyage in company with several Inquisitors, who went to make the best of their case against him, and with that notable personage, the Duke of Alva, in the chief cabin,

until they reached Genoa. Thence to Civita Vecchia. There the Archbishop landed, amidst proofs of great care for his safe keeping ; and bearing such marks of honour as could be allowed to a captive wearer of a pallium, he was taken straightway to the Castle of St. Angelo, the state prison of Rome. In that castle he lay until the 14th of April, 1576, when a persecution and imprisonment of seventeen years was brought to a close by the tardy resolution of Gregory XIII., then in the fourth year of his pontificate. Carranza abjured Lutheran articles which there was no proof that he had ever held. He submitted to a suspension of his functions as Archbishop, to the discharge of which his constitution, impaired by suffering, and worn by age, was no longer equal. He had, after all, the satisfaction of seeing the Spanish Inquisitors mortified by incessant manifestations of disrespect, during protracted investigations in secret consistories, in the presence of Pope and cardinals ; behind whose seats they were compelled to stand, day by day, week after week. Completely acquitted of even the suspicion of heresy, he solemnly said mass, in token of reconciliation with the Church that ought to have crowned him with honours, if it were only for his zeal against those whom his Church persecutes ; and then, almost as soon as he had received the congratulation of his friends, and witnessed, in his own case, a trifling triumph of the Court of Rome over the Court of Madrid, he died.

Although he had been active in the service of the Inquisition, he does not appear among the most brutish of its tormentors, nor the most unreasonable of its judges. There was a dignity in his character which at once commands respect, and causes wonder that such a man did not revolt from the enormities he witnessed, nor shrink with horror from the crimes to which he consented. How far he repented of the crimes thus made his own, God only knows. Among the witnesses to his honour during the brief period of his life after the release from prison, we have M. De Thou, the eminent historian of those times ; who says that he saw him in Rome a little before his death, and that he was a man most worthy to occupy the high station to which he had once been raised ; most worthy on account of great learning, integrity of life,

and sanctity of manners.\* But could this Primate of Spain ever forget, during those seventeen years of incarceration, prostrate dignity, and sickened hope, how, in the days of his prosperous estate, he had sat in cruel judgment over the Primate of England, and witnessed *his* yet greater learning, his fearful conflict, his momentary weakness, his grand confession at the last, and his glorious martyrdom? Who would not rather die the death of a Cranmer, than enjoy the fruitless honour of a Carranza?

This affair serves to illustrate the action of private passion, the jealousy of disappointed candidates for office, and of ecclesiastical faction on the theatre of the Inquisition, even in contempt of the dignities and the reputation of the Church herself; and I have dwelt on it the longer, as it marks a period when the furies of the horrible tribunal were beginning to be exhausted by their extreme intensity, and when the beginnings of a constitutional reaction against sacerdotal haughtiness took place in Spain, which I now proceed to trace onward to our own time.

\* *Jac. Aug. Thuani Hist.*, xxvi., 14.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## SPAIN : PROGRESS AND DECLINE OF THE INQUISITION.

So terrible an institution could not always retain undisputed power. The people could not be continually persuaded to hate Protestants; and the supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid already saw the animosity of Romanists in France so far diminished, that it was impossible to burn heretics as aforetime; and therefore they concurred in a general purpose—if not actually in the plot—to destroy the Huguenots by some stroke of state or secret conspiracy. This was brought to pass in the great massacre of St. Bartholomew.

In Spain itself, so little of Lutheranism remained, and at this time so feeble were the vestiges of Judaism, that there was no object conspicuous enough to serve as the butt of popular bigotry, and keep up the splendour of periodical processions and martyr-fires. Consequently, the Inspectors of the Faith were driven to frame new expedients; and people, having time and temper for consideration, became persuaded, although by slow degrees, that the existence of such a tribunal was incompatible with the exercise of civil rights. Contentions between it and the civil power were frequent; and in the conflicts that continued for two centuries and a half after the great *Autos* of Seville and Valladolid, the advantages were sometimes with one party, and sometimes with the other. We hasten rapidly through this period, avoiding consecutive narration, and only marking the more characteristic incidents.

The transatlantic and insular dominions of the Kings of Spain were brought, as we shall observe in the proper place, under the rule of Inquisitors; but, at home, the confusion between civil and ecclesiastical authorities began to appear in the inquisitorial administration.

Philip II., and the Spanish Inquisitors, ill content that on the high seas there should be any respite from the thralldom, —now extended over both hemispheres,—schemed for the establishment of a Naval Tribunal; one that should watch over every sea, and plunge heresy into its depths, as if to pre-figure the drowning of their own Babylon. Pius V. lost not a moment in granting the necessary Bull; (July 27th, 1571;) and up sprang “the Inquisition of the Galleys,” or, as it was afterwards called, “of Army and Navy.” The Inquisitor of Spain saw the oceans added to his dominion, fleets and camps placed under his control. In every seaport a commissary-general visited the ships, took an official declaration from every captain that there were no prohibited books on board, nor any object that looked heretical. Or, if there was any such, he seized it, if portable; or, if it could not be carried away, he took ashore a note of it. The bales of merchandise also underwent examination, that they might be cleansed of every heresy-infected object.

This marine inspection flourished grandly in Cadiz, chief seaport for commerce with the west. The Visitor of the Holy Office, with notary, alguacil, porter, and a company of men ready for any service, put off to every ship outward bound, or to meet it on arrival from abroad. Soon as his reverend feet touched the deck, a salute proclaimed him present. First of all, he and his train descended into the chief cabin, found refreshment of all sorts; a handsome fee ready, on his giving a certificate that the ship was clear of heresy, and might either proceed on the voyage, or land the cargo; and, oftentimes, when matters were suspicious, handsome presents induced favourable and quick dispatch. The attendant familiars, being generally commercial men, made advantageous purchases; and, having fulfilled their service to the Church, found the boat ready for use in their own, and returned, with their chief, to shore. But the merchants became impatient of the new system, and made a bargain with the Holy Office, through the Custom-House, to have their ships exempt from direct visitation. This arrangement lasted for a time, but at length fell into disuse. The captains too, accustomed to command their crews alone, found the ships’ duty interrupted by the meddling of chap-

lains. A strange sail hove in sight, or the wind freshened, while able-bodied men were between decks, undergoing priestly inspection. Of course the spiritual inquest was cut short at such times; and the Inquisitor-General soon heard that his interference on the high seas hindered navigation. So the marine tribunal came to nought.

In Galicia, where the Inquisition had been silent for a year, it was aroused (A.D. 1574) to enforce an edict of the Supreme, published two years before, forbidding trade, on the frontiers, in saltpetre, sulphur, or gunpowder, lest those articles should come into the hands of heretics, and be used by them as ammunition wherewith to do battle against "the Catholic faith."

Encouraged by the favour of the King, some zealots projected the establishment of a new military order, to be under the direction of the Inquisitor-General, and to be called "St. Mary of the White Sword:"—the sword of St. James was *red*, to show blood. To the Director they would give entire possession of the property of all members, and absolute control over their persons. The new legions would fight against all heretics, real or suspected, and be free from royal control. The scheme was accepted with enthusiasm in no fewer than eleven provinces; and an army was just on the point of starting into life, when a patriotic gentleman, Don Pedro Venegas, of Cordova, represented to the King that the Inquisition had been, as yet, diligent enough in taking care of the Church; that the regular forces were able to defend the State; that if any extra service was to be performed, the existing military Orders would be forthcoming; that so formidable an armament, under control of the Inquisitor, might join the King's enemies, or be in itself strong enough to overturn his throne. In short, the Cordovese patriot brought such a weight of argument against the scheme, that His Majesty appointed a Commission to examine it, in conjunction with the Royal Council; and as they could not agree to recommend its adoption, he was for once wise enough to foresee the evil, and refuse to give sanction to St. Mary of the White Sword.

While the Spanish Inquisitors were experiencing these reverses, they were persecuting some of the most eminent

ecclesiastics ; who, some in the Council of Trent, and some in Spain, had given judgment favourable to Carranza, and of course, had made themselves enemies within the bosom of the Church.

Those enemies threatened, and even endeavoured to convict, the most respected lady in Spain, now adored as "the Glorious Mother, Santa Teresa of Jesus." She trembled for the consequences of their censure ; but, by a witty antiphrasis,—for she called them *angels*,—by flattering submission, and by help of some external influence besides, she conjured the spirit of the rising storm.

They went further still, and waged open war on the Society of Jesus. Several members of that Society, whether disgusted with its evils, or weary of its discipline, delated their Provincial, and some of the more eminent fathers, to the Holy Office at Valladolid. Their information gave the Inquisition an opportunity for the display of power. The Provincial, Marcenius, was arrested with some others. (A.D. 1586.) The Society were required to produce their rules, and all documents relating to the internal management of their affairs, to be examined by the Triers. Their discipline, studies, morals, all were subjected to a searching investigation. Aquaviva flew to Rome, and implored the Pope to interpose his supreme authority, and save the Society. Xystus V. heard the prayer, and commanded his Nuncio at Madrid to espouse the cause of Jesuitism. Philip II. inclined to favour them. Xystus revoked the cause to the Apostolic See ; and after a hot war between the two strongest legions of the Papacy, they were so far set at peace with each other, that they could agree to turn their weapons against their most hated enemy, evangelical Christianity.

If the influence of England had been at this time given on the side of religion and humanity, it might not have been altogether ineffectual. But when James I. came to the throne, he found scope for the indulgence of his Romeward longings in every negotiation with foreign princes, and especially with the Pope, the worst enemy of our country. If Queen Elizabeth had been yet alive, and in her vigour, when a treaty of peace was to be concluded with Spain, she would no doubt have insisted on the exemption of Englishmen,



when sojourning in those dominions, from the authority of the Inquisitors. For such was the spirit of an article in a former treaty, which engaged that they should not be troubled for conscience' sake; (*ex causâ conscientiæ*;) and she would have guarded against evasion, as far as that is possible. But when she was on the verge of the grave, her ambassador in Spain agreed, with that dragoon the Duke of Alva, to a "secret article;" which was afterwards inserted in the treaty, and ratified in the second year of James.

Alva dictated the following:—

"In the first place, if they shall have committed any excess before coming into Spain, they shall not be subjected to inquisition, nor be put to any trouble on account of such excesses committed out of Spain, nor shall they be required to give any account or reason of them."

Alva, Philip II. of Spain, and James I. of England, thus agree in setting down as an *excess*, even in England, any bold profession of the truth against Popery. So much for an "Anglo-Catholic" King.

"In like manner, if they do not choose to go into the churches, no one shall compel them to do so. But if they do enter, they must perform the bow and reverence to the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist that is there. And if they shall see the most holy sacrament coming through a street, they must render it the same reverence by falling down upon their knees,\* or else turn into another street, or go into a house out of sight."

This is literally a copy of what the Moors were required to do, before their expulsion from Spain, on peril of heavy penalties. The Englishman who would not worship the host, even though it came on him where there was no way

\* On the church of S. Salvador, in Seville, there is an inscription on a marble slab, of much later date. I saw and copied it in 1838. "The King Don John, Law 11. The King, and every person who meets the most Holy Sacrament, must get off his horse, even if it be in the mud, under penalty of six hundred maravedises of that time, according to the laudable custom of this city, or he must lose his horse and its furniture; and if it is a Moor, over fourteen years of age, he must go down upon his knees, or lose all the clothes he has upon him, that shall be given to any one who may accuse him.—This stone was put up by the High Brotherhood of the Most Holy Sacrament of this Collegiate Church, in the year 1714."

of escape into another street,—where there might be another host approaching,—or no admission by a door into any house, for the door might be close-barred, and no one within hearing to open it, was now, by King James's treaty, to be locked up in the Inquisition.

“Also, if any such persons being masters, or mates, or other officers of ships which are not their own, shall commit any excess; when the Holy Office proceeds against them, their own goods only shall be sequestered, the ships remaining free, as well as any property that may belong to other persons. And the same is to be understood of traders and their agents.”

But what is an excess? It may be a word, a gesture, a glance, the most trifling action at which any Spaniard may choose to take offence, or an unguarded answer to any artful question put by a familiar or a spy. Be it what it may, for anything called excess, King James in his wisdom consigned Englishmen and their property, and life too, to the rapacity of these most savage of all persecutors in a strange land. Here is an Anglo-Catholic concession! \*

This disgraceful article caused deep dissatisfaction in England at the time; but the King and his ministers used their utmost ingenuity to explain it away. Better conditions, they said, could not be got. Some advantages were gained for merchants who would leave religion and conscience clear behind them; and it was necessary for England meekly to consider how much the King of Spain laboured to *endear himself* to the See of Rome. So much for Anglo-Catholicism with crown and sceptre.

But King James gained no thanks by the surrender of his subjects, and almost the surrender of his kingdom, for the conciliation of Rome, as the detection of the gunpowder plot soon proved. No sooner did that affair pass over, than Jesuits and Inquisitors everywhere, but nowhere more than in Spain, renewed their operations. Their first efforts were directed to the suppression of Protestant worship in the house of the British ambassador in Madrid; of which Sir Charles Wallace, then occupying that humiliating position,

\* Winwood's “*Memorials of Affairs of State*,” ii., 29, 38.

complained in a despatch to the Earl of Salisbury and the Lords of the Privy Council. The Jesuits, said His Excellency, obtained reports of the English sermons there delivered, and made unceasing applications to the Inquisitor-General to proceed against his chaplain, and to interfere with the members of His Lordship's family. Extreme, perhaps excessive, caution on their part, and probably a more far-sighted policy in the Inquisitor, with whom Sir Charles condescended to have frequent correspondence, prevented the attainment of their object at that time; but what with priestly perseverance, and what with diplomatic indifference, the point was gained; and the English visitor at Madrid sought in vain the means of worshipping God with his own countrymen, in that city, on the Lord's Day, even on ground which ought to be an inviolable sanctuary for British liberty.

Sir Charles Cornwallis, writing from Madrid on the 19th of April, 1608, relates the following case of persecution.\*

"There hath lately been apprehended by the Office of Inquisition at Ayamonte, and conveyed to Syvill, (Seville,) one Thomas Ferres, a merchant; whose brothers in London, I suppose, are not unknown to some of your Lordships. His trouble, as himself supposeth, groweth out of the mallice of a fryer of our nation, resident in that towne; who, prevailing not to draw him to subscribe to a forme of a confession and oath, (the copy whereof I send here inclosed,) hath, as it seemes, either by himself, or some other of that malignant condition, procured him to be accused to the Inquisitors. These, like hungry hawkes, have been easily induced to sease upon so pleasing a prey; having not only laid their tallons upon his person, but upon his goods." And, in a dungeon at Ayamonte, Mr. Ferres lay for six months, at least; being only released at the pressing instance of the ambassador, and his property restored a fortnight afterwards. The Jesuits were infuriated at this clemency, and threatened to have the Inquisitor-General deprived of his office, and superseded by some one who would promote the interests of the Church, and not those of princes.

\* Winwood, ii., 347.

The Spaniards, indignant at the shadow of leniency apparent in the secret article of the last treaty, which allowed heretics to exist in Spain, and yet to stay away from churches, then endeavoured to get rid of English traders altogether by limiting their time of residence so narrowly that they would scarcely find it worth while to return.\*

Mr. Nevill Davis, an English merchant resident in Seville,† “a man careful of anything that concerned His Majesty’s service,” and, in the absence of a consul, holding correspondence with the ambassador, was banished at two days’ notice, “without declaration of cause, or receiving of answer or defence.” Sir Charles understood that this was done at the instance of the Council of the Inquisition, “who, finding,” as he says, “by what had passed in dispute between them and me, that they can take none advantage by the articles against the abode of factors, have devised this other means of delivering themselves from such as they can imagine adverse to the drawing of others to their religion.”

The same despatch also bears intelligence of the timely escape of Mr. Chalens, Mr. St. John, and some others, who were all sentenced to the galleys by the same authority, and sureties for their reappearing taken in large sums of money. Mr. Chalens and his crew had all been imprisoned at Seville, for having presumed to trade with Virginia without permission of the Pope, to whom was attributed sovereignty over the newly-discovered continent, wherefore the Holy Office, as guardian of the Papal rights, seized the heretics and their ship. On the indefatigable intercession of our ambassador they were liberated, but soon afterwards, on some pretext, sentenced to the galleys.‡

George Strangham, a Scotchman, was also seized by the Inquisition, with ship and cargo, for having dared to trade in a port of Barbary.§ So it became impossible for Englishmen to trade with many parts of both the old world and the new, without incurring the lawless vengeance of Spain, executed on them, as heretics, by the Holy Office.

The reign of Philip III. was remarkable for frequent and loud remonstrances, by Spaniards themselves, against this

\* Winwood, ii., 432.    † *Ibid.*, 439.    ‡ *Ibid.*, 439.    § *Ibid.*, iii., 43.

enormous oppression. Four times did the Cortes of Castile implore him to lay some restraint on the Inquisitors; but four times did Philip put off the remonstrant parliament with empty words, and the tormentors of the nation became utterly reckless in their insolence.

Yet Philip III. and his advisers, under the infatuation that has rested on the rulers of Spain ever since it became a nation, and that rests upon them now, laboured to strengthen the very power which they were sometimes trying to resist. They foolishly fancied that the Inquisition ceased to be dangerous to the State whenever it could be brought to act together with the King. Proceeding under this delusion, Philip gratified the dominant party of his clergy, by calling on the Pope to let loose the guardians of the faith upon the minority who had courage to preach against the growing "opinion" of an immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. At the formal request of His Majesty, Pope Paul V. moved the "sacred congregation of the Inquisition to decree (A.D. 1616) that in Spain none should dare to affirm in sermons, lectures, or disputations, or other public acts, that the blessed Virgin was conceived in sin." Very severe penalties were prescribed for every such offence, and the zealots for that novelty were highly delighted; but the decree was vain. The Spanish gainsayers would not keep silence, nor suffer even the sacred congregation to silence them. Six years afterwards, on a similar application, Gregory XV. bade the Roman Inquisition reiterate its threatenings; but the brute thunder died as it fell on the soil of Spain.\*

Now that the "pious opinion" of an immaculate conception of the mother of our Lord has been made an article of faith by Pius IX., in his Apostolic Letters, dated December, 1854, we may observe that the last agitation of this question began with Cardinal Archbishop of Seville in the time of Gregory XVI., and was then carried forward by the Jesuits in Rome. And the whole history of this Marian controversy, even as it is given by Perrone, chief advocate of the new dogma, shows that the Inquisition was long employed for the acceleration of its establishment by force. Then the

\* *Joannis Perrone de Immaculato Conceptu B. V. Mariæ Disquisitio Theologica*, pars i., cap. 4.

Company of Jesus gave all its influence to bring about the same result ; and, under such promoters, there is nothing that Romish believers will not accept without further question.

Philip IV. chose to be entertained with an *Auto* at Madrid, (June 21st, 1621,) on his accession to the throne. No one was burnt at that *Auto*, because a heretic could not be found for the fire ; but a lewd nun, who had added to licentiousness with her confessors a profession of compact with Satan,—no very dissimilar offence,—appeared in a *sambenito*, and gagged. She received two hundred lashes for heresy, and was carried away to perpetual imprisonment ; which assuredly the confessors ought to have shared, and then the friends of the Inquisition might have more confidently alleged this piece of discipline as an instance of its usefulness for purifying the morals of their clergy. As the priest was not accused of a Satanic compact, and the other sin was not heresy, *he* went free.

Notwithstanding the tenderness of the inspectors of morals towards the peccant priesthood, the clergy now began to add their complaints to those of the laity, remonstrating against their usurpation of spiritual power. The Bishop of Cartagena and Murcia, for example, with his Chapter, appealed to the Council of Castile, who addressed the King in such words as these :—“ Will Your Majesty consider if it is not enough to make one weep when he sees this high dignity,” of the episcopate, “ so revered by us all, outraged, laid prostrate, defamed in the pulpits, persecuted and trodden down at the tribunals, and all this by an Inquisitor-General and a Council of Inquisitors, who, while they should be the very men to uphold the authority of religion, strip that authority from the bishops, first fathers of religion ? ” (October 9th, 1622.) But, like his predecessors, the King paid no regard to chapter of clergy nor council of laity, and, instead of diminishing the power of the Inquisitors, put a new instrument of mischief into their hands, by giving them, a few years later, a jurisdiction over smugglers, and authorizing them to lay their hands on all the silver or copper money they might find on Spaniards leaving the country, and reserve a fourth part of it for their own coffers. (A.D. 1627.)

I have elsewhere noticed the united operation of the Propaganda and the Inquisition, and find at this period of the existence of the latter in Spain, a remarkable instance of its occupation in the work of proselytism. When Prince Charles of England, afterwards King Charles I., was sent by his father to Madrid for education, the chaplain of the British embassy at that Court was Master James Wadesworth. Master chaplain yielded to the arguments which were played upon the future King of England with less apparent, but with as much real, success, renounced the evangelical profession, took up his permanent abode in Spain, and, being only a layman in the eyes of Rome, sent over to England for his wife and children. After this the proselyte figured as "Pensioner of the Holy Inquisition in Seville," so continued all his life, and in that character corresponded with a former friend, in hope of bringing him over to the same persuasion. It is curious to see a presbyter of the Church of England taking a pension from the Holy Inquisition, ostentatiously proving himself a layman by living with wife and children, and corresponding for four years with "W. Bedell, a minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in Suffolk," who afterwards published the letters written on both sides, and rose to be Bishop of Kilmore. The Holy Office can be gracious enough where there is an end to serve.

As a pendulum oscillates under the impulse of two forces, without any possibility of rest until the forces become exhausted or neutralized, so royalty in Spain swung in an interminable distraction between its own interest in the nation and the counter-force of Jesuitism and Inquisition together. Moved by renewed complaints, and not without a distressing consciousness that his kingdom was in danger, Philip IV. made another effort in the beginning of the year 1633 to check the encroachments of the tribunal. In a letter to the Inquisitor-General, De Castro, he expounds his doctrine of government, and thus ordains :—

"My principal care and obligation have been, and always will be, the increase and preservation of our holy Catholic faith, in which care the Holy Office and its ministers are occupied with a well-known devotedness and vigilance. And because they need my sanction and protection, in order

that they may proceed with the authority that is desirable, I have ordained, conformably with what the Kings my predecessors have done, to reserve to myself all the causes and matters of the Inquisitions of this kingdom which in any way concern it; and of which it is I who must render an account, without permitting them to be discussed in any other Council or Junta whatsoever. For my pleasure is that such matters be immediately submitted to myself only, by you, through the Count, Duke of St. Lucar, whom I have named to this effect, that he may answer and dispatch in such manner as may be most convenient, without the intervention of any other minister or tribunal; and that, if there be not present in my Court any minister deputy for the Inquisitors, you remit the papers that may be wanted to Diego Suarez, my Secretary of State in the Council of the Crown, who resides with me, and who is also Secretary of the Holy Office, that he may pass them to the Count Duke."\*

But this was only a convulsive grasp. Philip was not a man to hold the reins of government, but resigned them forthwith to a new Inquisitor, named Sotomayor, who prosecuted his mission with an energy that effectually nullified every concession to the Crown.

If we might digress into the history of Jesuitism, we should find that a spirit of rivalry between the Inquisitors and the fathers of the Society, both parties being pillars of the Church, both of them supporters of despotic sovereignty, and aspirants after ascendancy over civil society, often broke the peace of those watchers over the Romish flocks, and brought them into positions of difficulty, out of which their tribunal could never more be extricated.

\* "*Deducção Chronologica e Analytica. Parte Segunda. Na qual se manifesta o que successivamente passou nas diferentes epochas da Igreja sobre a Censura, Prohibição, e Impressão dos Livros. Dada à Luz pelo Doutor Joseph de Seabra da Sylva. Lisboa, 1767.*" P. 148.



## CHAPTER XX.

SPAIN : PROGRESS AND DECLINE (*Concluded*).

THE two fraternities of Torquemada and Loyola rather tended to union than to opposition. The loftier policy of Jesuitism sometimes influenced the secret tribunals, and made their proceedings far more formidable. The union became as perfect as it well could be when Father Nithard, a Jesuit, and confessor of the Queen of Philip IV., was appointed Inquisitor-General, and also Councillor of State, after the death of that King, and the minority of his son, Charles II. As Confessor, Councillor, and Keeper of the Faith, the Jesuit managed all the springs of government in Church and State ; but so vast an accumulation of power and craft was too much for him to bear, or for Spain to suffer ; and he at once encountered open opposition from Don Juan of Austria, an illegitimate son of the late King, who resisted the Austrian and Jesuitical policy then dominant at Court. Don Juan had both spoken and written freely of Nithard, and many of the clergy supported him with their advice and influence. Nithard appointed censors to examine his *propositions*, which, in certain course, they pronounced heretical ; and he would have been immured, at least, if public indignation had not risen so high, that the Jesuit-Inquisitor found it expedient to decamp. He fled to the thresholds of the Apostles, took shelter at Rome under the wing of Clement IX., (A.D. 1669,) and soon a cardinal's hat solaced him in discomfiture, and rewarded his ambition.

The priest-ridden Government of Spain, although not overthrown by Don Juan and his numerous adherents, was contemptibly feeble, and owed much to the infamous tribunal for its mere existence. The successor of Nithard in the

office of Inquisitor amused Charles, at his attainment to majority, and marriage to a French princess, with a grand *Auto*. For the gratification of the young Queen, a hundred and eighteen culprits were marched into her presence at Madrid, charged with various delinquencies. Among them were eighteen Judaizers, and one apostate to Mohammedanism, whom the Court delivered to the worldly power to be burnt alive; and they were burnt accordingly. (A.D. 1680.)

Then arose great questions between the Courts of Paris and Rome concerning the limits of royal and pontifical authority, and the claims of the French Church to be independent of the Roman See. The Spanish Inquisition, lacking the sagacious guidance of a Jesuit, did not leave the contending parties to settle their dispute, but chose to involve itself in the controversy; and took a part no less offensive to the good sense of mankind in general, and to all true Christians, than vexatious to the French clergy. These clergy, in a solemn Assembly, made a Declaration in four articles, which are imperishably written in the history of the seventeenth century; and of these articles the first reads thus:—"At first, to St. Peter and to his successors, Vicars of Christ, and to the Church herself, God gave power in spiritual things, pertaining to eternal salvation, but not in civil things; for the Lord said, 'My kingdom is not of this world;' and again, 'Render therefore to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's;' and therefore the apostolic precept must stand, *'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; for the powers which be are ordained of God: therefore he who resists the power resists the ordinance of God.'* Kings, therefore, and princes are not subject to any ecclesiastical power in temporals, by the ordination of God; neither, by the authority of the keys of the Church, can they be directly or indirectly deposed; nor can their subjects be so exempted from fealty and obedience, nor released from the oath of fealty that they have taken. And this sentence is necessary for public tranquillity, is no less useful to the Church than to the empire, and ought to be inviolably retained, as agreeing with the word of God, the tradition of the Fathers, and the example of the Saints."

The Spanish Inquisitors ought now to have kept within the Pyrenees ; but they transgressed their bounds, took the French clergy under inspection, employed the Spanish consultors to examine the French Article, and then adopted their report that it was rash, erroneous, and heretical.\* Henceforth, even if there had been no other obstacle, the Inquisitors found a barrier of their own raising, which made their passage into France impossible.

As the seventeenth century advanced, with its growing literature and earnest controversies, the Inquisition, pretending to rule every question, and to exert a universal censorship, could not but catch a little of the polemical spirit ; and its ministers, indulging the dangerous temper, sometimes ventured to break through the ancient restraints of silence, and condescended to attempt a public advocacy of principles that were each day controverted more and more. But they were not able to catch the spirit of that age. A single example of inquisitorial folly may be admitted here.

The following sermon was preached in the church of the Franciscan convent in Zaragoza, on Sunday, March 1st, 1671, by Brother Manuel Guerrera y Ribera, a Trinitarian shoed, Doctor of Theology, *Professor of Philosophy* in the University of Salamanca, preacher to the King, and rich in many other honours. The occasion was the publication of the annual edict for general inquest to be made. It is translated closely from the Spanish of Llorente.

“ And he was casting out a devil, and it was dumb,” &c., &c.  
(Luke xi. 14-28.)

“ On the first of March Moses opened the tabernacle, Aaron clothed himself as High Priest, and the princes of the tribes offered to obey his precepts ; *because*, on the first of March, the temple of St. Francis would be opened, the pontifical mandates to delate heretics to the Inquisitors, as vicars of the most high Pontiff, would be published, and the principal citizens of Zaragoza would promise to obey them. Aaron was Inquisitor of the law, and he is this day repre-

\* *Discusion del Proyecto del Decreto sobre el Tribunal de la Inquisicion. Discurso del Señor Villanueva, en la Sesión del Día 21 de Enero de 1813.*

sented by the Inquisitors of Zaragoza. Jesus Christ is accused of superstition. This is a crime for inquisition. I shall reduce my sermon to two points : first, the obligation to delate ; second, the holiness of the office of Judge-Inquisitor.

*"First point.* Religion is a warfare. Every soldier should give notice to his chief, if he knows that there are enemies. If he does not give notice, he deserves to be punished as a traitor. The Christian is a soldier ; and, if he does not denounce the heretics, he is a traitor : justly will the Inquisition punish him. St. Stephen, when stoned, prayed God not to impute the sin to his persecutors. But they had two sins : one, that of stoning Stephen ; another, that of resisting the Holy Ghost, which is a sin for the Inquisition. He asked God to forgive them the sin of killing him, because he could ask it ; but not to forgive the other, because it was a sin for the Inquisition, and he delated it to God. Jacob separated himself from the house of Laban, his father-in-law, without saying ' Good bye.' Why did he not pay respect to his father-in-law ? Because Laban was an idolater ; and, in matters of faith, religion must be above all human considerations. Therefore the son ought to delate the heretic to the Inquisition, although that heretic be his own father. Moses was Inquisitor against Pharaoh, his foster-grandfather, plunging him into the sea because he was an idolater ; and against his brother Aaron, reproving him for having consented to the golden calf. Therefore, in offences of Inquisition, you must not stop to think whether the delinquent be your father or your brother. Joshua was Inquisitor against Achan, commanding them to burn him, because he had stolen property confiscated under the curse of Jericho, which ought to have been burnt in fire. Therefore it is just for heretics to be burnt. Achan was a prince of the tribe of Judah, and yet they delated him. Therefore every heretic ought to be delated, though he were a prince of royal blood.\*

*"The second point.* Peter was Inquisitor against Simon

\* The congregation would not fail to think of Don Carlos, whom his father, Philip II., with concurrence of the Inquisitors, caused to die in prison, because he chose to think him tainted with heresy.

**Magus.** Therefore the representatives of the Vicar of Peter ought to punish magicians. David was Inquisitor against Goliath and Saul: with the first, severe, because Goliath outraged religion wilfully: with the second, merciful, because Saul was not quite his own master, for he acted under the possession of an evil spirit; and therefore Inquisitor David soothed him in his proceedings by playing on a harp. Therefore the stone and the harp signified the sword and the olive of the inquisitorial office. The book of Revelation was sealed with seven seals, because it signified the process of the Inquisition, so secret that it seems to be closed with seven thousand. Only a lion opens it, and then the lion is changed into a lamb. What clearer figure of an Inquisitor can there be? For making inquisition into crimes, he is a lion that terrifies. After having sought them out, he is a lamb that treats all the guilty written in that book with gentleness, kindness, and compassion! Other elders attended with little vials of pleasant odours at the opening of the book. They were little vials (*redomitas*), and not vials (*redomas*). They had their mouths little. Therefore the Inquisitors and their servants ought to speak little. The odours were aromatic. St. John says that they signified the prayers of the saints. These saints are the Lord's Inquisitors, who offer prayer before they pronounce the sentence. The text says that the ministers carried harps (*cítaras*) also. Why not lutes or viols (*arpas ó vihuelas*)? Nothing of the kind. The chords of these musical instruments are made of the skins of animals; but the Lord's Inquisitors do not skin any one. The harps have chords of metal, and the Inquisitors must use iron; tempering it, and adapting it to the circumstances of the guilty. The viol is played with the hand, symbol of despotic power; the harp with the quill, hieroglyphic of knowledge. Let it be a harp, then, and not a lute or viol, because the Inquisitors decide with knowledge, and not with despotism. The hand depends on the body and its influences; the quill is a separable, independent thing; therefore it must be harp, not lute, because the sentence of an Inquisitor does not depend on influences."

When people could listen to such nonsense,—when Kings

had such preachers, and colleges such professors—the Inquisition might do anything it would; but the times of ignorance were passing rapidly away. Preachers like the little-mouthed orator of Zaragoza, and Inquisitors like Rocaberti and the royal confessor Diaz, who could hunt for witches all over Spain, in order to find out by whose doings Charles II. was childless, were not the men to drive back the tide of discontent that flooded higher and higher from year to year. And it was in this reign that effectual measures first were taken to undermine the strength of the “horrible tribunal.”

Heroic Zaragoza would not have listened so meekly a century before, when the whole population rose in defence of “the famous Antonio Perez, Minister and First Secretary of State of King Philip II. ;” a singular affair, which I will relate very briefly indeed, from the earliest printed statement of it,\* which was published by Perez himself, with the aid of a companion in sin and suffering, and is confirmed by authentic documents from correspondence with the King and others.

Antonio Perez, having watched the proceedings of Juan Escovedo, also a Secretary of State or Envoy of Philip, and made those proceedings the subject of frequent communications to their common master, suggested or concurred in a suggestion that Escovedo should be got rid of without the inconvenience of bringing State affairs to the knowledge of the world. Philip, with his accustomed readiness to allow or to commit any such crime, concerted with Perez that Escovedo should be assassinated as soon as possible. Murder could not be concealed. Suspicion fell on the First Secretary, and enough transpired to involve the King in the suspicion. Evidence, however, could not be found; for neither witnesses nor judges would dare to proceed against the King, or the King’s favourite and accomplice. The King, too, tormented with the fear that the son and friends of the murdered man would publish all they knew and all

\* *Pedazos de Historia, ó Relaciones, así llamados por sus Auctores los Peregrinos. Retrato al vivo del Natural de la Fortuna. Impreso en Leon.*—There is no date, but it must have been printed in 1593 or 1598.

that they suspected, engaged the services of the Inquisitor-General, who subjected Perez to a private inquiry, and easily obtained evidence that he was a heretic. His heresy, however, was not of the Lutheran kind; but, like that of most of his neighbours, it was infidel. He was much given to profane and filthy language, and had not been careful to keep clear of such vulgar interjections as the inquisitorial casuists had pronounced to be criminal. But for that indiscretion, his profaneness would have been deemed pardonable, if not quite innocent. Once entangled in the toils of the Holy Office, escape was next to impossible. He was confined to his house, yet acted for some time as Secretary of State, and had friendly communication with the King. Then he was questioned again, and the restraint made closer. Then he was charged with falsifying State papers, and fell into disgrace accordingly. Being fallen, he was examined by torture, yet not taken to the prison of the Inquisition, perhaps because he passed as a State criminal, and no one would have considered him liable to punishment for heresy. After suffering torture, he managed to escape from confinement in Madrid; and, aided by a compassionate foreigner, a Genoese, escaped into Aragon, his family being Aragonese, and threw himself under the shelter of the *fuero*, or charter of that kingdom; which made the *Justicia* supreme authority in all criminal cases, and reduced the King of Spain, as well as all others, to the position of parties litigant, whenever a defendant claimed protection, and committed himself to that constitutional jurisdiction.

Antonio Perez was therefore taken to Zaragoza, and lodged in the prison of the *Manifestacion*; so called because the inmates of that house were under the guardian custody of the *Justicia*, or chief magistrate, in order that they might freely make their case *manifest*. The King, who should then have submitted to appear as witness, and take the chance of adverse evidence, durst not face the inevitable exposure; withdrew by an act of sovereign authority, and left the Inquisitor of Aragon to take up the question of heresy, and bury it under the inscrutable secrecy of his tribunal, as the Inquisitor-General in Castile had either done, or tried to do.

After some hasty and peremptory preliminaries, the officers of the Inquisition attempted to get possession of his person, but failed. Then the Viceroy, with a train of nobles and gentlemen, and foot-soldiers equal to an English regiment of infantry in full strength, and horsemen equal to, at least, a troop of cavalry, took possession of the city, as they thought; and proceeded to put Perez and his companion-fugitive in irons, and convey them under the military guard from the prison of the Justice of Aragon to the Alfaría, or fortified dungeons of the Inquisition. The brave men of Zaragoza, not to be intimidated as were their chiefs, came in full strength at the right moment, fairly disarmed the soldiers after a short and sharp struggle, carried away Antonio Perez in triumph; and he, after receiving almost the adoration of the multitude, men, women, and children, whilst Viceroy, Duke, Counts, and Inquisitors were prudently concealed in cellars, stables, pigsties, and any sort of hiding-places, went into France, and was welcomed and supported there by Henry IV. In great alarm, Philip sent an army into Aragon to quell sedition, and to silence fame; but the Inquisition never absolutely recovered the ground then lost. Antonio Perez wrote his book, or was partner in the authorship, and then came over to England, hoping to share the favour in those days hospitably, yet as discreetly as might be, shown to refugees on account of religion; but his high birth, his former station, and the merit of long-protracted suffering could not cover the notoriety of his guilt. He was charged, perhaps truly, with having told the King's secrets; and Queen Elizabeth, passing over other matters in silence, gave that as her sufficient reason for not showing him any favour. Burleigh, as Treasurer, would scarcely allow him a single interview; but Essex used him to get information of the secrets of the Spanish Court, rewarded him handsomely, and left him to return to France,\* where he ended his days.

Now to resume the thread of our history.

Two councillors of state, two of Castile, two of Aragon, two of Italy, (for the Spanish possessions in Italy,) two of

\* *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha. Autore Guil. Camdeno. Pars iv., A.D. 1594*



the Indies, two members of military orders, and a secretary of the King, in all thirteen, constituted what was called "the Great Junta," summoned by the King to consider the complaints that came from all quarters against the Inquisition. After grave deliberation, they reported (May 21st, 1696) that the usurpation of jurisdiction by the Inquisitors was found to be as old as their establishment in His Majesty's dominions. They had assumed power in every kind of case, and over persons of all conditions. Persons of all ranks had been thrown into their prisons, and families covered with disgrace. The slightest disrespect shown to any of their dependents or domestics, who had come into the possession of exorbitant privileges, they punished with relentless severity. The very forms of their judicial proceedings were insolently contemptuous towards the royal Courts, and prejudicial to all civil authority. The King's "vassals" had ever been discontented, and the Emperor Charles V. had been so well persuaded of the justice of their complaints, that he suspended the sanctions hitherto given to the Inquisition; but Philip II., being Governor of Spain in his absence, (after his abdication of the empire,) restored them, after a suspension of ten years, under some restrictions; but the restrictions never were observed. Spoiled by long indulgence, the insolence of the Inquisitors became insufferable. They exercised jurisdiction over secular persons, and in matters not pertaining to religion, forgetting that such jurisdiction belongs to the Sovereign alone, and was only delegated to them by his favour. They even denied this, and contemptuously set aside the restrictions of Canon Law, and of Bulls which lay in their own archives.

The Junta said that they might justly ask for a revocation of all the privileges which had been thus abused; but would only recommend that the original restrictions should be enforced, and none confined in prisons of Inquisition, except for crimes against religion. They further recommended a permission to appeal to the throne, with a public examination of causes before the royal Courts. And they enumerated many evils resulting from privileges claimed by the Holy Office; undefined and unlimited as those privileges were, and extending to all connected with an Inquisitor. His coachman,

or his lackey, demanded reverence of every one, and fancied himself privileged to commit unbounded insult. His servant-girl complained if she were not served quickly or well enough in the market; and whoever offended one of those menials was liable to be flung into the deepest dungeon. They then described the discontents and tumults which had been provoked by these things in various provinces of Spain; and proposed that the jurisdiction of this Court should be narrowed, its privileges diminished, and the civil authorities enabled to resist its encroachments.

Here and there some resistance was actually made, as in the case of the Inquisitor of Catalonia, Bartolomé Sanz y Muñoz. This person excommunicated the bailiff and jury of the village of Sitges for having billeted soldiers in the house of a Familiar; and also a magistrate of the place, for not helping to make the bailiff prisoner. This insolence was reported to Charles II., who instantly wrote to the Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, under date of January 8th, 1696, requiring him to send the said Inquisitor out of the Spanish dominions without the least delay, and to inform him that he must never dare to set foot in them again without a royal licence.\* But the King was too feeble to maintain his ground, and the grievances of the nation were not redressed.

The eighteenth century opened somewhat more hopefully. Philip V., grandson of Louis XIV. of France, was the first who refused to have an *Auto* at his coronation, which was so far good; but he maintained the Inquisition as an instrument of despotic government, and actually used it to punish, as heretics, those who had any doubt—for there was a war of succession—concerning his title to the crown. Yet he rather used the institution, than supported it; for he deprived of his office an Inquisitor-General who had presumed to proceed for heresy against some high officers of state. Irritated by the presumption of the Inquisitors, he ordered a decree for the suppression of their office; but, like one who dreaded the rebound of a stroke himself had made, dared not to carry the decree into effect.

The Cortes of Castile again (A.D. 1714) recorded their con-

\* *Cartas de D. Roque Leal*, (L. J. Villanueva,) Carta ii.

demnation, but without any further benefit than that which must eventually result from the disclosure of a truth. The same body reiterated their disapproval a few years afterwards (A.D. 1720).

But while Philip V. used the Inquisition for his own service, and the evangelical doctrine, which had prevailed two centuries before, no longer left a trace behind, there were multitudes of persons accused of attempting to revive Judaism, and others gave offence by their efforts to promote Freemasonry. This gave the Inquisitors abundant pretext for the discharge of their political mission; and when Philip V. died, it was found that during his reign of forty-six years there had been seven hundred and eighty-two *Autos* in Spain alone. Llorente calculates that 1,564 were burnt alive, and 782 in effigy, with 11,730 penitents; making a total of 14,076 victims.

Two incidents, at least, in this reign are worthy of mention. In the year 1713 Gibraltar was ceded, after conquest, to Great Britain; and by an article of the Treaty of Utrecht, "Her Britannic Majesty, at the instance of the Catholic King, consented and agreed that on no account should Jews or Moors inhabit or have dwelling in the said city of Gibraltar;" but "Her Majesty, the Queen of Great Britain, promised that the inhabitants of the said city of Gibraltar should be allowed the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion." Five years afterwards Isaac Martin, an Englishman, was imprisoned for eight months, and robbed, by the Inquisition of Granada, on the very spot where the edict was written for the expulsion of the Jews from Spain; as if to show Great Britain the effect of principles to which she had rendered obeisance in the proscription of Jews at Gibraltar, and the return she might expect for indulgence to "the Roman Catholic religion" within her own dominions. But it is pleasant to note that Mr. Martin was released at the instance of our King George I. The Inquisition, however, saved its pride by first whipping him through the streets of Granada, and then, to his great delight, *banishing* him from Spain.

During the reigns of Charles III. and Charles IV. a revival of literature, and an advance in political science,

guided the attention of the clergy and the government to the pretensions of the Court of Rome, as well as to the proceedings of the Inquisitors. The former of these monarchs nearly yielded to the advice of his best advisers,—the Marquis of Roda, and the Counts de Aranda, Floridablanca, and Campomanes,—to suppress the Inquisition, as well as to expel the Jesuits. He banished the Society, but could not summon up courage to extinguish that murderous police. A mysterious dread held back his hand from giving sanction to a decree that would have made his title complete as Benefactor of Spain. Even an Inquisitor-General, the Archbishop of Selimbria, proposed a scheme for its reformation; but an intrigue of court unseated him, and sent him prisoner to a monastery (A.D. 1794). When the Inquisition had prepared to cast into its dungeons Don Ramon de Salas, whom Charles IV. rescued, and also the Prince of the Peace, a decree for suppression was actually drawn up; but the Prince of the Peace himself was induced to dissuade the King from signing it (A.D. 1797).

Projects of reformation, once made, could never be lost sight of; and at length the first step was taken by the exertion of Urquijo, Prime Minister of Charles IV., who obtained a royal prohibition from interfering with foreign consuls in Spain (A.D. 1799). From that time, these functionaries have been allowed to exercise the Protestant religion in their consulates, and to have in their libraries whatever books they please; and it is gratifying to know that some of them have made good use of the right then acknowledged.

Meanwhile, sentences to death nearly ceased; and once, when a good man whose heart the Lord had touched, and who steadfastly refused to compromise his conscience by any concession to idolatry, was sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm, in compliance with the letter of the law, the Inquisitors themselves agreed to give him a certificate of lunacy, and let him go free. By this contrivance Don Miguel Solano, priest of Esco, a town in Aragon, walked out of the prison of the Inquisition in Zaragoza as a maniac, forgiven his heresy, and, as a maniac, exempted from priestly ministrations, while every one knew him to be a reasonable

man, and treated him accordingly. Nothing could repress his zeal for Christ. After bearing open testimony to the truth, and resisting every attempt to dissuade him from that confession, he was released by death from controversy, and, refusing the wafer and the unction, departed in the faith, (A.D. 1805,) and was buried in unconsecrated ground, within the walls of the Inquisition, on the bank of the Ebro, but without any sentence of infamy, or posthumous condemnation. So great a change had taken place in the views of Spanish ecclesiastics; many of whom I knew at a later date, and found incapable of speaking of the Inquisition without expressions of shame and horror.

Here we may take the aggregate number of sufferers in Spain from the time of Torquemada until the year 1809, as given by Llorente on the lowest possible estimate :—

Burnt alive .....	31,912
Burnt in effigy .....	17,659
Penitents .....	291,450
<hr/>	
Total.....	341,021

Let us not fail to note that, fifteen years before the death of Solano, the word of God had been honestly \* translated from the Latin Vulgate into the language of the people by Padre Scio, tutor of the Prince of Asturias, and that its universal reading by persons of all ranks and ages was advocated by Don Lorenzo Villanueva with a scope of learning, and clearness and warmth of eloquence, that would adorn the literature of the most polished nation in the most enlightened age. Yet on the first page of the precious volume we read among the titles of the revered author that of Qualifier, or Censor, of the Holy Office. The date is 1791. I fear that just now this is a sealed book in Spain; but the seals will soon again be broken. Our pages brighten. We approach to better times.

\* Scio translated honestly, but he could not obliterate the false readings of his original.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### SPAIN : INQUISITION ABOLISHED.—TRIBUNALS OF THE FAITH.

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE had succeeded in embroiling the royal family of Spain. Charles IV. abdicated, and his son Ferdinand VII. received the crown. This was brought about by the nefarious contrivances of the Emperor and his agents; and every true Spaniard regarded the foreigners with abhorrence. The Pope did not smile on the leader of European revolution; and the Inquisition, of course, refused to commit itself to the French influence which had become paramount in Madrid. The Inquisitor-General, Don Ramon de Arce, choosing rather to bend than break, resigned his office (March 23d, 1808) to young King Ferdinand, whom Bonaparte induced to retire into France. Nevertheless, the Council of the Supreme asserted their power to act without a General, in case of his death or incapacity: but it is not likely that they could really act; and as for their inspecting books brought over the frontier, that was impossible. French books, infidel and revolutionary, were brought in by thousands; Spain was deluged with foreign influences; and patriots and priests were alike helpless.

In a few more months the imperial standard crossed the Bidasoa. Bonaparte carried all before him. On the 2d of December he entered Chamartin, a village but one league from Madrid; established his head-quarters there, and sent troops to take possession of the capital, and demand the submission of all public bodies. The Council of the Inquisition had courage to refuse; and, on receiving information of their passive resistance, he took a pen, and wrote on a slip of paper, in very few words, (December 4th,) an order to arrest the Inquisitors, abolish the Inquisition, and sequestrate

the revenue. Some of the Inquisitors escaped; their brethren who could not effect a flight were carried prisoners to Bayonne; and thus the invader of Spain did what some of the best sovereigns of Spain, especially Charles III., had often wished, yet never dared, to do. Probably this is the only act of Bonaparte that good Spaniards could approve; but as they could not honourably accept anything from the hand of a usurper, not even deliverance from the Inquisition, as soon as ever a Council of Regency could be formed to administer government and conduct war in the name of the captive King, they instructed one of the fugitive Inquisitors, then in Cadiz, (August 1st, 1810,) to assemble as many of his colleagues as possible, and, in form at least, resume the functions which had been interrupted by the invasion of the enemy. Constituent Cortes then assembled in Cadiz; (September 24th;) and, in pursuance of the Act of the Regency, enjoined several formalities from time to time, apparently tending to effect a complete restoration of the tribunal.

But those acts were no more than formal. In preparing a new fundamental code for future government, the leading statesmen deliberated on the relations the temporal and spiritual authorities ought to bear to each other; and, as a first measure, framed an article of the new Constitution which, though excessively intolerant, was constructed to serve an important purpose. It ran thus:—"The religion of the Spanish nation is, and shall be perpetually, the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman, only true. *The nation protects it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other.*" The same Cortes, in preparing a coronation oath, provided that the Sovereign should swear to "defend and preserve the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion, without permitting any other;" and the hottest bigots might, therefore, have thought their cause secure. Meanwhile, both Cortes and Regency took measures for the restoration of the Supreme Council. But there were some, even in those Cortes, who spoke freely on behalf of religious liberty; and a yet larger number of deputies professed their hope, notwithstanding the enactment of perpetuity to Romanism, that the new code would soon be succeeded by a better, and that

Protestants would have permission to erect churches in Spain.

The Council might have been restored, but for the precipitancy of the Inquisitors themselves, who would not wait to be instructed as to the constitution of their body, and the extent of their jurisdiction, but notified to the Regency (May 16th, 1811) their intention to proceed forthwith. There were also reasons for distrust on part of the Government towards some of them ; and they were forbidden to act without further authority. The whole affair was remitted to the consideration of a special Commission ; but this Commission, instead of preparing a plan for the guidance of the Holy Office, divided on the question of its compatibility with the Constitution of the kingdom ; and after much delay, the subject daily assuming an appearance of greater complication, the Cortes ordered their Committee for the Constitution, which was not yet completely framed, to entertain that fundamental question, and to report thereupon. They undertook the service amidst general anxiety ; the laity, on one side, desiring the abolition of the tribunal, and most of the clergy dreading the event if that main support of Popery were taken from them.

At length (December 8th, 1812) the Committee presented an elaborate and profoundly-interesting Report, containing a review of the history of the Spanish Inquisition from its earliest and most authentic records, so far as such records were then accessible ; and concluding that it could not be re-established consistently with the liberties of Spain. The document is extremely valuable, and is itself a history. On the present question it speaks thus :—

“This is the tribunal of the Inquisition ; that tribunal which is not dependent upon any in its proceedings ; which, in the person of the Inquisitor-General, is sovereign, since he dictates laws for judgments wherein sentences to temporal punishment is pronounced ; that tribunal which, in the darkness of night, drags the husband from the side of his wife, the father from the arms of his children, the children from the sight of their parents, who are without hope of seeing them again until they be absolved or condemned, without power to contribute to their defence, and



that of the family, and with no means of knowing that, in truth and justice, they ought to suffer punishment. And, after all this, besides the loss of husband, parent, child, they must suffer the sequestration of their goods, the confiscation of their estates, and the dishonour of their family. And can this be compatible with the Constitution, by which order and harmony have been established between the supreme authorities, and in which Spaniards perceive the shield that must preserve them from the attacks of arbitrary power and of despotism?

“*First* :—It is not compatible with the sovereignty and independence of the nation. In the judgments of the Inquisition the civil authority has no influence ; for Spaniards are imprisoned, tortured, and condemned to civil penalties, without any intervention of the secular power ; prosecutions are instituted, trials conducted, proofs admitted, and sentences pronounced, according to laws dictated by the Inquisitor-General. How, then, can the nation exercise its sovereignty in judgments given by the Inquisition ? It cannot exercise it at all. The Inquisitor is himself a sovereign in a sovereign nation, and beside a sovereign prince. He dictates laws, he applies them in particular cases, and he watches over their execution. The three powers which the Cortes have wisely regulated in the Constitution given for the happiness of Spaniards, are united in the Inquisitor-General, together with his Council, and make him a real sovereign, without any of the modifications established for the exercise of the national sovereignty ; a thing the most monstrous that can be conceived, and that destroys the very first principles of national independence and sovereignty.”

After establishing these positions by a comparison of laws and facts, the Commission asks,—

“Has not Napoleon filled France with bastilles, where free-born men, without number, lie groaning in fetters, having been arrested by a police whose manner of proceeding differs in no respect from that of the Inquisition ? There, as here, the accuser is not known, the names of witnesses are not known, the cause of imprisonment is not told, and sentence is executed in outrage of all justice. This is the liberty and independence of France with the police of

Napoleon ; and this will be ours too, if Inquisitors may accommodate the liberty and independence of Spain to the Inquisition. What Deputy will then be able to speak against the will of the Prince ? Who shall declaim against arbitrary administration, and the unlawful acts of a sagacious and revengeful Secretary of the Home Department, or dare to bring him to his responsibility ? Who, like Macanaz, will defend the rights of the nation against the influence of Alberoni ? Will he not have reason to fear that envy and hate will load him with calumny, and bury him in the dungeons of the Inquisition ? Undoubtedly he will. Members could not utter their opinions freely in face of the Inquisition. The Cortes cannot exist together with this establishment ; and that cannot be compatible with the sovereignty and independence of the nation which annihilates in Cortes the national representation on which that sovereignty and independence rests.

“*Neither* is the tribunal of the Inquisition compatible with personal liberty, for the assurance of which various maxims have been sanctioned in the Constitution that are opposed to this establishment.” The provisions for preventing arbitrary imprisonment are then enumerated. “But what liberty,” asks the Commission, “do Spaniards enjoy in the courts of the Inquisition ? They are taken to prison without having seen their judges ; they are immured in dark and narrow cells ; and, until their sentence has been pronounced, they are allowed no communication. At such time and manner as may please the Inquisitors, they are asked to make a declaration ; they are never told the name of the accuser, if there be any, nor the names of the witnesses that depose against them ; scraps of the evidence is all that is read to them, and the depositions themselves are disguised by being written in the third person. In the Tribunal of the Faith of God, who is Truth itself, all truth is violated, in order that the prisoner may not come to know the enemy by whom he has been slandered and persecuted. The cause is never published, but sealed up in the Secret of the Inquisition ; so much is extracted from it as seems good to the Inquisitors ; with that only there is made a publication of proofs, and the person treated as a criminal is invited to

ground his defence on that, pleading for himself, or through an advocate that has been given to him, or to object to the witnesses. But how can he object to persons whose names he knows not? The unhappy culprit is bewildered with thinking, remembering, suspecting, guessing. He forms rash, hasty, and false conjectures. He struggles with his own conscience, with his sense of honour, with his affections of friendship, trying to discover the covetous person who has sold him, the ambitious one who has sacrificed him, the false friend who has betrayed him with a kiss of peace, the lewd one who could not freely satisfy a brutal passion. '*I feel the pain,*'—so cried the innocent Fra Luis de Leon, —'*I feel the pain, but I cannot see the hand, nor is there a place for me to hide or shelter me.*' At this point, the Commission, overwhelmed with horror and amazement, knows not in what language to find utterance. Priests, ministers of that God of peace and charity who went about doing good, are they who decree the torture, and are present at its infliction, to hear the piteous cries of innocent victims, or the execrations and blasphemies of the guilty! It is inconceivable, Sir, how far prejudice can fascinate, and false zeal can lead astray."

The Commission added to their Report a project of law that passed the Cortes, after a debate protracted from December 8th to February 5th.\* By that law the tribunal was abolished, it is true, but the murderous principle of the Inquisition was most fully recognised. The civil power partially sustained its own jurisdiction, and but partially, still leaving heretics to suffer. One is ashamed to find such a law enacted in a European Parliament, in the year 1813, and sorry to find that in the year 1868 it is still in force; and with the aggravation that, by a Concordat between the Pope and the present Queen of Spain, the clauses that would restrict the ecclesiastical judges are divested of their force. But as for the law of 1813, "the General and Extraordinary Cortes, desiring the provision made in the twelfth article of the Constitution to be carried out to the fullest effect, and that

\* The whole Discussion was reprinted from the Diary of the Cortes, "*Cádiz: en la Imprenta Nacional.* 1813."

the faithful observance of so wise a measure be insured for the future, declare and decree :

“ Art. 1. The Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion shall be protected by laws consistent with the Constitution.

“ 2. The tribunal of the Inquisition is incompatible with the Constitution.

“ 3. Therefore the law ii., title xxvi., partida 7, is re-established in its original force, inasmuch as it leaves free the authority of the bishops and their vicars to take cognizance in matters of faith, agreeably to the sacred Canons and common right ; and that of the secular judges to declare and inflict on heretics the penalties which the laws determine, or which shall be determined hereafter. The ecclesiastical and secular judges shall proceed in their respective cases according to the Constitution and the laws.

“ 4. Every Spaniard is at liberty to accuse of the crime of heresy at the ecclesiastical tribunal : in default of accuser, or even if there be one, the ecclesiastical fiscal shall take the place of accuser.”

Articles 5, 6, and 7 regulate the respective action of the secular and ecclesiastical officers. Art. 8 makes it “lawful to appeal to the civil authority in the same manner as in all other ecclesiastical judgments ;” and the last article is almost the reproduction of an old inquisitorial regulation.

“ 9. When the ecclesiastical judgment shall have been given, a statement of the case shall be forwarded to the secular judge,”—this, however, practically supersedes the *Auto-de-Fé*,—“and the criminal shall thenceforth remain at his disposal, in order that he may inflict on him the penalty which may be allowable according to the laws.”

The *partida*, cited in this “decree for the establishment of tribunals protective of the faith,” provides “that heretics be burnt, with exception of those who are such in the lowest degree ; who, not being yet formal believers” in the heresy, “have to suffer perpetual banishment from these kingdoms, or imprisonment till they repent, or turn to the faith.” Other penalties, like those in use by the Inquisition, are minutely prescribed.

A second chapter in this decree supplied a substitution for the second department of inquisitorial jurisdiction ; which is,

uniformly, the censorship, suppression, and prohibition of books. The King, it was provided, should appoint literary Inquisitors in the frontier custom-houses. A system of censorship, slightly mitigated, was to prevent the publication of heresy in Spain. The Council of State was directed to perform, in conjunction with ordinary Cortes, and under the royal sanction, the functions of a Spanish Congregation of the Index. By this arrangement it was intended that a Prohibitory Index for Spain should perpetually hide every ray of evangelical intelligence from the public eye.

The clergy might well have been satisfied with this enormous power to banish, to confiscate, and to suppress; but a considerable number of them, headed by the Papal Nuncio, refused to acknowledge the new law, and attempted, even while the enemy was in their borders, to stir up an insurrection on behalf of the suppressed Inquisition. But they failed, and the Nuncio, with several others, was banished out of Spain.

Ferdinand VII. returned in the summer of 1814, and was no sooner established in Madrid than he arrested the members of the Cortes who had come up from Cadiz; although to them and the Spanish people, powerfully aided by the arms of Great Britain, he owed restoration to his throne. He had those men who had so bravely stood by the monarchy, which he himself placed under the feet of Bonaparte, arrested as traitors. He caused them to be visited in the dead of the night, dragged from their beds, and carried away to dungeons, in perfect inquisitorial fashion; he declared that they were all infidels and rebels, and issued a decree (July 21st) to restore the tribunal of the Holy Office.

A Council of the Supreme was again assembled in Seville, which issued instructions to its agents in Spain and Spanish America. (Feb. 12th, 1815.) In due time a new Inquisitor-General, Francisco Xavier de Miery Campillo, Bishop of Almeria, issued more copious instructions, with a long list of prohibited books. Already, after but a few months had been spent in endeavours to repair the shattered fortunes of the establishment, the General tried to revive the ancient customs by issuing an Edict of the Faith. But it was not

possible that an *Auto* of the ancient sort should be seen again in Spain. Few persons, if any, thought it advisable to present themselves, as informers, at the offices of the new Inquisitors; but means were found to sacrifice just one political victim in an Act of Faith in Mexico, before the year had ended.

Campillo absolutely controlled the press. Every good writing was promptly suppressed, and its writer mercilessly persecuted. On the contrary, the most savage propositions were circulated with the undisguised favour of the new Inquisitors. It was incessantly taught in print, that every Frenchman caught in Spain, and every Spaniard maintaining French opinions, ought to be assassinated,—that the property of such persons should be confiscated or destroyed,—that oaths taken during the time of the Constitutional Cortes ought to be broken,—that priests and friars would do well to carry arms, if it were to kill Frenchmen and Spaniards of French opinions,—that all who died fighting the French, &c., were martyrs for the faith, and should be revered accordingly,—that eternal hatred and inexorable vengeance in the cause of the Pope and the King were praiseworthy,—that no person of opposite opinions should be absolved, not even on his death-bed. Many learned and estimable Spaniards fled for refuge into foreign lands, where they might hope to employ the remainder of life in free utterance of their thoughts, and then die in quiet, at least, without the annoyance of confessors.

## CHAPTER XXII.

## SPAIN: INQUISITION REVIVED.

THREE *Causas*, among the papers found in the Inquisition of Seville in 1820, and lent me by Mr. Wetherell, together with the *Cartilla*, serve well to show how the questors of the faith did their business, during their six years of office in the reign of Ferdinand VII.

*The first case* is that of a Freemason, Don Ventura Ruiz Huidobro.

When the French were in occupation of the city, before the return of Ferdinand from France on the fall of Bonaparte, they found the palace of the Inquisition vacant; and not only made use of it as a prison, but appropriated some of its apartments to the uses of a Masonic lodge, and there admitted a few Spaniards into their fraternity. On the return of the King, and the re-establishment of the Holy Office, care was taken to find out those Spanish Masons; and, as Freemasonry was considered to be a species of heresy, those new members of the Society were dealt with as heretics. Huidobro was the first of them conveyed to prison; and he could not have lain there less than a year without trial. In hope of mercy, perhaps, he made what they call a *spontaneous* information against himself; and the narrative he then gave of his Masonic adventures fills twelve pages of manuscript on foolscap paper. According to this document, Lieutenant-Colonel Don Ventura, spontaneously and with the greatest respect, felicitates the chief Inquisitor on the re-establishment of the Holy Tribunal, as had been *desired*. He relates that, sometime in the spring, after the entrance of the enemy into Seville, a French officer whom he had formerly known invited him to see an apartment beautifully fitted up for the

performance of some ceremony. After a little conversation, he accepted an invitation to remain ; and when his curiosity was raised by the passing of several persons, with an air of reserve, into an inner room, the officer and another gentleman told him of a brotherhood, consisting of respectable men, associated for purposes of mutual benevolence, which counted as members popes, kings, bishops, and other persons of the highest rank, to the exclusion of all on whom there was the slightest stain of reproach for immorality. St. John of Scotland and St. Joseph of Italy gave the Society their names ; and, so far was the brotherhood from being opposed to holy religion, and to king and country, that none could be received into its bosom who did not acknowledge the being of a God.

The Colonel had heard of those Freemasons, for twenty-two years before, in silent wonder : now came the time for him to judge of them for himself, and he could not resist a powerful inclination to be enrolled among them. The ceremonies that followed are described, whether truly or not, with a minuteness that must have been very gratifying to the curious questioners. The revelation of one secret gave sincere pleasure to the close keepers of another ; but better still was the disclosure of several names, some of them belonging to persons of high station, who fraternized, within the very walls of the Holy Office, with workmen from a neighbouring tanyard. French and English, in spite of war, met together there without distinction of rank or country ; “ free and accepted ” all !

After the departure of the French, Huidobro heard that there were Bulls of excommunication hanging over all Freemasons ; and, by advice of his lawyer, he awaited the “ happy re-establishment ” of the Holy Office, with intention to inform against himself, and pray for absolution ; “ assuring the Inquisitor that he only consented to be made a Freemason through curiosity, and with a desire to discover the monstrous mysteries that were celebrated in their meetings, to gain any intelligence that might be useful to the lawful Government, and communicate it to the Intendant, Don Juan de Igéa, with whom he was in secret correspondence. But he had not witnessed anything, as he said, contrary to



religion or to the country. He protested repentance of anything that might have been offensive to God, and prayed for the Inquisition to absolve him from the crime, and to prescribe such penance as they might see fit."

This "spontaneous information" is dated on the 3d of May, 1814; but it was not until the 21st of April, 1815, that Huidobro appeared before the Inquisitor, Carassa, in the hall of audience. Of course, he must have been kept in prison during the interval, and at the latter date was declared suspected of heresy *de levi*,—that is to say, lightly,—and released on condition of performing an easy penance. This was a great indulgence; but the indulgence was purchased by his betraying all the Freemasons in Seville, and himself suffering one year's imprisonment.

*The second case* is that of Richard Deacon, ("Dikon,") an English Quaker.

Mr. Deacon visited Bilbao, probably on a commercial voyage, and there fell in with one Andrew O'Ryan, an Irish Dominican monk. The monk was ambitious to convert the Quaker; and the latter, whether sincerely or not none can say, suffered himself to be taken under instruction, and catechised by Brother O'Ryan. The brother, not expecting any mishap, went forward confidently, preparing the Friend and catechumen to receive baptism; because, as the Inquisitors are told in this paper, "the sect of Quakers neither admits nor receives this sacrament." The commissary of Inquisition of Bilbao, the parish-priest, the catechist O'Ryan, and the Quaker Deacon, were in active correspondence with each other concerning a solemn baptism, at which the bishop was to preside, when suddenly the pretended convert disappeared. Not a trace of him could be found, but the recorded correspondence shows how the "Police of Conscience" proceeded with their search. Here are,—

1. A letter from the commissary of the Holy Office in Bilbao to the Inquisition of Logroño, reporting that Deacon had renounced Quakerism. The letter, dated October 23d, 1817, contains an account of the exertions made for his conversion, with copy of a "spontaneous declaration and protestation of our holy faith" which he had signed, O'Ryan acting as notary and interpreter. This indicates that the Inquisition

proceeded against him as a heretic, regardless of his being an Englishman and Protestant, and by treaty between England and Spain entitled to exemption from penalty or interference of any kind, so long as he did not openly attack Romanism.

2. The abovesaid letter is recited by two of the Inquisitors of Logroño, in a letter to the Holy Office of the Inquisition of Seville; who state that, on the 20th of December, the bishop whom they had desired to provide for the due solemnization of the baptism, reports that Richard Deacon has absconded, and that it is impossible to say whither he has gone. The Inquisitors use all possible diligence to find him; but the commissary writes again, on the 3d of February, to say that his efforts have been quite fruitless, but that O'Ryan thinks the fugitive may have found his way to Mr. Nathan Wetherell, of Seville; a gentleman who, together with the people in his employ, was honoured with the most watchful attention of the Holy Office. "We therefore pray you," they say, "to employ a servant whom you can trust, (*ministro de su confianza*,) to inquire whether the said Richard Deacon has really arrived at the said leather-factory, and in that case do with him what you think fit; and give information of your proceedings, with such orders as you may please to send. You will observe that the said Richard is twenty-seven years of age, of middle height, fair complexion, marked with small-pox, fine eyes, and a noble countenance." (Dated at Logroño, February 26th, 1818.)

3. José Berdugo, secretary of the Inquisition of Seville, acknowledged the receipt of the letter, answering under date of 10th March, and promised to make search, and report accordingly.

4. On the 28th of May the Inquisitors of Seville directed one of their number to write to Logroño, saying that they had employed six persons to search for Deacon in Mr. Wetherell's establishment, and from each of them he found that the man had not arrived there, nor had any one there the least knowledge of where he might be found. He seems to have pretended conversion to Popery, in order to cheat the Inquisition,—a proceeding that nothing could justify; and escaped their clutches, which was more than he deserved. Probably he found his way back to England.

*The third case* is not one of religion, but of politics. But it has a character of peculiar interest, as indicating how the Spanish Inquisition, in the time of Ferdinand VII., was made use of by the State as an engine of police. It shall be described in the order of dates in the several papers of the bundle. The first paper is a written circular of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid, which I translate in full.

“Through the Ministry of Grace and Justice, it has been communicated to this Council by royal order, with date of the 27th of July last, that various prelates and authorities of the kingdom had received, under the post-mark of S. Roque, in Lower Andalusia, a subversive and seditious printed paper, announcing the publication which was to be made in London of a weekly periodical, with the title *El Español Constitucional*, ‘The Constitutional Spaniard.’ That the Royal Council,” (an administrative board that was revived, like the Council of the Inquisition, on the return of Ferdinand from his French captivity,) “as soon as it had notice of this occurrence, dispatched opportune orders to the Regents of Chanceries and Royal Audiences, the Captains-General of Cadiz and Galicia, the Governor of Santander, and the Corregidor of the Lordship of Biscay, in order to prevent the introduction of the aforesaid paper into these dominions, by seizing, in the King’s name, as many copies as may have been introduced up to this time, and of which they may have been able to get information, and by remitting them all to the Council itself, punctually giving account of the results of this grave and important charge, with whatever information on the subject they may be able to collect. That, at the same time, the Council resolves to give notice of this instruction to the Judge of matters relating to the press, in order that he may communicate proper orders to his sub-delegates. Also, informing His Majesty of the measures adopted by the Royal Council: inasmuch as the distribution of the said print has been general to all the provinces, as appears by copies that are sent up from all parts of the kingdom to the ministry, that Council has been pleased to resolve, and this Council of the Supreme Inquisition, with knowledge of the aforesaid, resolves to take all such pre-

cautions as its accredited attachment to the King's person and regard for the public good may dictate, not only to call in as many copies of the said prospectus as may be in the possession of private persons, and the numbers of the periodical which they are trying to introduce,—in case that it be published,—but also *in order to effect the capture of the persons employed in this piece of mischief.*

“ And the Council has accordingly determined that a circular be sent to all the subordinate tribunals, that, by themselves and by their servants, with the utmost secrecy, they may take all the measures and precautions that their prudence shall dictate, and that lie within the compass of their authority, so that the resolution of His Majesty, communicated to this Council, may have complete effect. The which their lordships communicate to you, that it may be punctually executed, so far as concerns your tribunal. God keep you.—Madrid, August 3d, 1818.

“ DN. RAIMDO. ETTENHARD Y SALINAS.

DN. ANTO. MARIA DE GALAZZA.

DN. MIGUEL NAVIERDE BERAMENDI.”

No doubt, copies of this circular were written out and signed with all possible dispatch; but it did not reach Seville until the 11th of the same month. On the 14th messengers were sent off to Cadiz, Ceuta, Algeciras, Ayamonte, and other places where there were commissaries, or subordinate courts of Inquisition, conveying the necessary instructions.

The only clear intelligence, in return, came from Algeciras, a town on the Bay of Gibraltar, just opposite that garrison, and in daily communication with it. The commissary of Inquisition in Algeciras, one Francisco de Paula Cid, wrote on the 27th of August, to say that he had used all means possible for gaining intelligence, and could not ascertain that any one in that district had heard anything of “The Constitutional Spaniard;” but he found that some inhabitants of Gibraltar had copies of the first number in their possession, “but have affirmed that the English Government has given its editors, who are Spanish refugees in London, to understand that their pensions will be withdrawn if they take advantage of the English law, which permits what they are doing.”

So says this commissary ; but we must believe that there is nothing on authentic record to show that in the year 1818 the British Government and the Spanish Inquisition were going hand in hand on any account whatever. On the contrary, not only were all inhabitants of Gibraltar at perfect liberty to read what they pleased, but in London the paper in question was not suppressed, nor does it appear that any Spaniard lost his pension on account of it, as is clear by a note from King Ferdinand's chief secretary to "the most illustrious Lord Inquisitor-General." (Perhaps Mr. Commissary Cid, although an Inquisitor, was, in reality, induced to couch his report in these terms, in order to cover the supporters of the patriotic newspaper from the interference of the Supreme Council at Madrid. Such good offices were not now unfrequent.) The note is as follows :—

4. "Some bad Spaniards gathered together in London have set about publishing a periodical with the title 'Constitutional Spaniard.' For want of subscribers it was suspended ; but it now appears that, encouraged again by several subscriptions which have been given it from these kingdoms, they are going to continue their enterprise. Having received this intelligence, and notwithstanding that proper measures have been taken to prevent the introduction of this paper, so prejudicial to the royal interests and rights of the King our lord, it is His Majesty's pleasure that your Most Illustrious should, on your part, also, take such steps as your prudence may dictate, to put down the undertaking of those bad Spaniards. Which I communicate, &c.—Palace, 13th of September, 1818. JOSE PIZARRO."

The Council does just what it is bidden to do, the zeal in this instance being with the King and his Council, rather than with the Inquisitors. In Seville, however, the latter find some scope for the display of their loyalty to the forlorn tribunal, and are soon encouraged by a written report from some one who has been in Mr. Wetherell's factory on private business, and there saw a copy of the obnoxious prospectus, and heard that the editors were two eminent Spaniards, Flores de Estrada and Gallardo.

The letter of this informant, "an intimate friend" of Mr. Wetherell, has on its back a memorandum of a conversation

between the Inquisitors themselves, and note of a commission "to the familiar of this Holy Office," one Arrayas, to take another person with him, and between them get possession of the prospectus.

On the morning of October 12th the familiar and his colleague presented themselves in the factory with a warrant, and demanded the prospectus. They there subjected Mr. Wetherell and his son John to a private examination, conducted with insufferable haughtiness, but only obtained a written declaration, signed by the two Englishmen, that they had never seen the thing required. That paper was preserved in the Inquisition, and on its back I found the following note, signed by the two familiars, Arrayas and Garcia :—"We, the commissioners to perform the service above-mentioned, forthwith told the said English manufacturers that every one who lives in this kingdom is bound and made subject to the fulfilment of the laws that govern it; and that if they did not deliver the said prospectus, if it was in their possession, they would be punished according to the laws, in proportion to their crime. They insisted on what they have declared and signed, and acknowledged that they were bound to the observance of the same laws; and this we sign and certify."

This hunting after the advertisement of a newspaper by the heads of Church and State would be too contemptible for notice, if it were not characteristic of the time and country, as well as of the Church of Rome. On that consideration alone the reader of this book will perhaps forgive the intrusion of such a trifle. Within less than a year and a half our two countrymen were amused by the perusal of the copious records, brought to their house by the person who found them in the Inquisition.

The only note I have to add is that the same spirit lives in the Court of Madrid, and animates every procedure of the present Queen and the party dominant, under whose tyranny Spain would seem to be no better in 1868 than it was half a century ago. This, however, is not the case; and the friends of Spain may comfort themselves with the calculation that that fine country is by so much nearer to incorporation with

those portions of Europe which enjoy the blessings of Christianity and freedom.

A constitutional form of government prevailed in Spain, with cessation of legal persecution, from 1820 to 1823, when absolutism revived once more. An attempt was then made to reinstate the horrid institution in Madrid, in spite of the repugnance of the Spanish people; but the representative of our Sovereign, Sir Henry Wellesley, afterwards Lord Cowley, strenuously opposed it, telling the King that if a decree for restoring the Inquisition received the royal signature, he would leave for England the next day. Ferdinand ventured not to resist so powerful an influence on the side of humanity, but made full use of other equally certain means at his disposal, and at the disposal of the Church, for depriving obnoxious persons of property, or liberty, or life.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### SPAIN: TRIBUNAL OF THE FAITH.

THIS Tribunal of the Faith, governed by its own chief, and conducted on a system of its own, is the old Inquisition under a new name. It has been fully described, (Chapter XXI.,) and I have now only to record one or two examples of its action since 1823.

How many deaths there have been on account of religion it is impossible to say. I heard of two in 1826. The first case was that of a Jew, burnt alive; but I have no authentic information of particulars. The second is that of a school-master of Busafa, a village in the neighbourhood of Valencia, whom people considered to be a Quaker. He was accused before the new tribunal, condemned, thrown into the prisons of St. Narcissus, as they are called, and there detained for some time, together with the vilest felons. My informant, a priest of Valencia, and eye-witness of his martyrdom, says that "the lords of the Tribunal of the Faith endeavoured to induce him to make a solemn recantation of his belief as a Quaker; but he said that he could do nothing against his conscience, nor could he lie to God. They condemned him to be hanged; and he was transferred to the condemned cell, and resigned himself fully to the will of God. On July 31st, 1826, he was taken from the prison to the scaffold, displaying the most perfect serenity. The crosses were removed from the scaffold. He was not clothed in the black dress usually put on culprits when brought out to execution, but appeared in a brown jacket and pantaloons. With a serious countenance and unfaltering mien, he ascended the scaffold, conducted by Father Felix, a barefooted Carmelite friar, who exhorted him to change his views. But he only replied,



‘ Shall one who has endeavoured to observe God’s commandments be condemned ? ’ When the rope was put round his neck, he asked the hangman to wait a moment, and, raising his eyes towards heaven, prayed.” There can be no doubt of the accuracy of this account. In April, 1838, I visited Valencia, was taken to the very spot where the gallows was erected, and there received ample confirmation of the fact, with many circumstantial details, from persons who had stood around the victim as he died.

At that very time, my own proceedings as a Wesleyan Minister in Spain were watched and noted ; and in 1839 Christina, Queen-Governess of Spain, by a note from her Secretary of State to the British *Chargé d’affaires*, required me to leave Spain, under threat of capital punishment if I did not obey. My offence was having officiated publicly and statedly as a Protestant Minister, under the direct sanction of her own Government ;—which, however, she succeeded in getting rid of ;—and, according to the old laws, again in full force, that document threatened me with death, “ *la ultima pena.* ” I changed my residence, indeed, but re-visited the scene of my labours ; every step I took was marked and reported by the authorities to the Government of Madrid ; and as the British Government at that time did not feel disposed to protect me against those “ laws of Spain,” I withdrew from the contest.

Subsequent events encouraged a persuasion that this tribunal could no longer exist in the country ; but, under a relapse into royal and priestly despotism, it did revive, and I have now to relate one of its more recent acts.

*Don Angel Herreros de Mora* was an object of peculiar hatred. *Don Manuel Garcia Herreros*, the Minister of Grace and Justice, who, on the part of his colleagues and his country, engaged the reluctant hand of the Queen-Governess Christina to sign the decree for the suppression of the Company of Jesus in 1835, was an uncle of his. Another *Herreros*, private secretary of the same Queen, and no less opposed to the priestly party, was his cousin. The family remembers with pride that *Herreros*, Auxiliar Bishop of the diocese of Toledo, in the reign of Charles III., was one of the most strenuous advisers of the sudden and simultaneous

banishment of every Jesuit from Spain ; and their present representative was engaged in the publication of a work concerning the Society. Not only did he inherit the hatred of the Jesuits, and provoke it yet more by the act now mentioned, but made himself, if possible, more hateful still by declaring himself a Protestant. Although he had been ordained as priest,—yet without a cure,—he married a Protestant when in France, and afterwards brought her back with him to Madrid, in open contempt of the law of celibacy. Nor was this all. In July, 1856, he returned from a visit to England and the United States of America, invested with the character of agent of the American Bible Society for Spain and Portugal. His diligence, integrity, and piety had already marked him as one well qualified to discharge the duties of that office.

It was but the night before a sanguinary *coup d'état* by the General O'Donnell, that my friend re-entered Madrid ; and during the terrible confusion consequent on that event he remained peaceably at home, awaiting the time when it might be practicable to print and distribute the Holy Scriptures ; and thus he continued in domestic privacy until August 27th.

About eight o'clock on the evening of that day, walking alone in the Prado, or park, of Madrid, he was suddenly attacked by ruffians, beaten, and dragged away to the office of the Civil Governor ; where he first caught a distinct view of the leader of the party, and found him to be one Juan Leon, clerk of the Tribunal of the Faith. Thence he was sent to the house of Don Julian de Pando, Vicar Apostolic for Madrid, under the Archbishop of Toledo, and chief of the Tribunal. This personage, after some sharp words, sent him back again to the civil authority as prisoner, hastened thither also to enforce further proceedings, and, after a brief and passionate interrogation, sent him down to the *saloon*, a dungeon deep under ground, wet, filthy, and pestilential,—a place where criminals are usually detained for a few hours until they can be taken to the prisons. There he was kept four days and nights, excepting only when once taken out to undergo examination by Vicar Pando ; and had he not been removed at the end of those four days, a few hours more

would probably have cost him his life. Under that examination he witnessed a good confession, and wrote with his own hand and signed a declaration, as near as he could afterwards remember, in the following words :—

“I am a Catholic Christian. That is to say, I am a Protestant. I have been so ever since I reached the age at which I could judge for myself with confidence, free from bias or coercion, and could fully estimate the responsibility I assumed before God and man.

“I am a Protestant : for I have written against the institution of Loyola ; I have married in conformity to the Gospel of Jesus, and in conformity to the true Church. And I again affirm that the Church of Rome is not the Church of Jesus, but is in error. I do not now state the reasons on which I rest, as I have rested hitherto, for believing and doing as I have believed and done.

“I have obeyed God, and Him will I obey, rather than men, whether these men be called bishops or popes.

“I therefore add, that if it be necessary for me to suffer martyrdom, that I may bear testimony to these things, here am I. You have me in your hands.

“ANGEL HERREROS DE MORA.”

The circumstances of this imprisonment, even as far as they have been made public,\* show that it is no longer possible to carry out the horrible formalities of the Spanish Inquisition as it was in action before 1813. The Civil Governor of Madrid protected the prisoner with a special guard, which never left him, day nor night, and persons of influence in the city paid him visits of condolence. The *Secret* could not be enforced as formerly. His wife and his wife’s mother brought him food ; and incessantly exerted themselves in pleading on his behalf with persons in power, and writing letters to myself, in hope of obtaining some kind of help from England.

On the fourth day, when he had become delirious, six men crowded into the dungeon, took up his bed with him on it, and walked up into an apartment in the higher part of the building. The sudden change was in consequence of an

\* In a Narrative by De Mora. London : 1856.

order from the Governor of Madrid, Don Manuel Alonso Martinez, who most willingly received an impassioned entreaty on behalf of the prisoner, from Doña Isabel of Bourbon, Infanta of Spain, sister of the King Consort, and as firm a friend of Don Angel as her brother and the Queen were enemies.

When in this room, the Vicar, attended by a notary, tormented him with repeated examinations; and, as if he regretted his inability to subject the heretic to the treatment of the old torture-chamber, once attempted a sort of pugilistic violence, but the civil officers compelled him and his assistant to desist. From this prison he was taken to a kind of private convent, inhabited by persons who concealed both the name and habit of their community, but were believed to be Jesuits. There he was attended by an armed soldier, sent for his protection, and was permitted to have food brought from his own house, lest he should be poisoned; and still he received visits from his friends, as is usual in Spanish prisons, except when the prisoner has been sentenced to solitary confinement. Something occurred to awaken suspicion of an attempt to poison him, and his family and friends earnestly advised him to accept assistance and make his escape. The Governor, for his part, could not avoid his obligation to execute the law, and support the proceedings of the Tribunal of the Faith; but he could scarcely fulfil that obligation without a consciousness of acting unjustly, and a deep sense of humiliation.

No time was to be lost. Don Angel would not suffer himself to be removed by force, lest force should be met by force, and for other obvious reasons of prudence; but he consented to escape at night. His wife brought him a knotted cord about one o'clock one morning. He let himself down from a balcony of the Jesuit-house, and was conveyed by a numerous relay of friends from one part of the city to another, until he reached a place of concealment sufficiently obscure. On return of daylight a hue and cry was raised. Vicar Pando ran to the Governor for aid to make hot pursuit; but the good Spaniard flatly refused any such assistance, and openly wished the fugitive good speed. For this the party dominant at Court removed the Governor from his office.

Meanwhile I had received letters from his wife and mother, and had not only made the affair public in England, but made it known to a member of the British Cabinet; and with the sanction of Lord Palmerston, then Premier, the *Chargé d'affaires* at the Court of Madrid (the British ambassador happening to be absent) received such instructions that the Spanish civil authorities found themselves supported by the influence of that Government which, of all the Governments of Europe, then stood highest in their estimation. They consented to his free departure from the country; arrangements were promptly made in that view; and, to his own unutterable surprise, my friend, even in the capital of Spain, still reeking with the blood of slaughtered citizens, and amidst the oppressions of Jesuits, Inquisitors, and aliens, found himself grasped by the ready hand of British mercy.

A telegraphic despatch to London announced the moment when he passed the gate of Madrid. Another told when he had reached Bayonne. And here I must make honourable mention of the late Loftus Charles Otway, Esq., C.B., then secretary of the British Legation; a gentleman to whom Englishmen in Spain have acknowledged debts of gratitude which this country would not have repaid too liberally, had his life been prolonged to receive the highest rewards that his Sovereign could bestow.

On the evening of October 9th Don Angel entered my house in London. Bruised with violence when assaulted in the Prado, exhausted with suffering, and torn from his native country, we looked on him as one plucked from the lion's mouth in answer to prayer, and felt at once thankful to God, and proud of being Englishmen.

On the eighth day of November, 1856, after the excitement caused by the escape of De Mora had subsided, when the government of Madrid was put into other and less worthy hands, and further measures of political repression had made it possible for the Vicar Apostolic to say or do almost anything with impunity, he issued the following citation:—

“By the present, and by virtue of the order of the most Excellent and most Illustrious Lord Vicar, certified by the undersigned notary, the presbyter Don Angel Herreros de

Mora, once belonging to the College of Missionaries in Asia, situate in Ocaña, is cited and summoned, in order that, within the term of twenty days, he may make his appearance in the audience-chamber of his most illustrious lordship, which audience he holds in the street of La Pasa, number 2, on the principal floor; with notice that, if he does not, proceedings will be taken against him as a rebel, on the writ which is now drawn up, for the crimes of apostasy from the faith, of infraction of the vow of chastity by having contracted marriage, and of being a propagandist of Protestantism in Spain. And the consequence of those proceedings will take place upon himself.

“GREGORIO GONZALO GUTIERREZ.”

We perused this document, twice repeated, in the Madrid Gazette; but the Inquisitor's audience-chamber was not visited by the contumacious fugitive. A friend of his, named José Vicino, was then thrown into prison, and both their houses searched; but in that matter the Tribunal of the Faith took no ostensible part. So far, indeed, was that body from daring to brave public opinion by any open procedure, that they actually sought to avert the indignation of the civilized world by a very pitiful evasion. They engaged the Minister of the United States at the Court of Isabel II., to assure the Committee of the American Bible Society that Mr. De Mora had not been imprisoned as their agent, but only for the sin of sacrilege committed in matrimony.

That Society is, no doubt, indifferent to the shade of guilt which may rest on Mr. De Mora in the sight of Spanish Inquisitors, being well satisfied with his faithful labours in their service. Almost ever since his deliverance he has been resident in New York, and has revised Valera's Spanish version of the Old and New Testaments in a manner highly creditable to his learning and ability.

Enough has now been said of Spain, and the maimed successor of the Spanish Inquisition, still known as the Tribunal of the Faith.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

## PORTUGAL: EARLY HISTORY.

HAPPILY, indeed, for Portugal, in the fifteenth century, the sway of the "Catholic Sovereigns," Ferdinand and Isabella, did not extend into that kingdom, neither did the Inquisition of Torquemada. But the spirit of persecution cannot be excluded from a country where the Romish priesthood are in power.

In Portugal, as in Spain, the Jews had long been oppressed. Although multitudes who left Spain in 1492 were allowed to dwell in Portugal, it was only under conditions of extreme severity; and at length they were reduced to the same terrible alternative of exile or compulsory profession of Christianity. They who submitted to baptism took upon themselves, not the easy yoke of the Lord Jesus Christ, of whom they had been taught nothing, but an insufferable bondage to the Church of Rome. Under the usual designation of New Christians, they were obnoxious to suspicion, contempt, and the most vexatious vigilance of the priests; although King Emanuel had granted them a promise, in 1497, that they should be exempt from inquisition for twenty years. Whether, at this time, there was any Court of Inquisition in that kingdom, it is not easy to say; but it is unquestionably certain that there, as in every other province of the Popedom, there were formal prosecutions for heresy. The exemption was confirmed and extended in 1507; and, in 1521, King John III. renewed it for another term of twenty years, with a clause to the effect that, even after the expiration of that term, their descendants should not be tried for heresy without being confronted with their accusers, and that the property of any of those persons who might be put

to death on conviction of heresy should, nevertheless, descend to their heirs. These privileges, like all others, must have been *purchased* by the New Christians for themselves and their children ; but six years before the time appointed, the exemption was withdrawn, and Pope Clement VII. sent an Inquisitor, Fray Diego de Silva, to set up an Office in Lisbon ; and this he did, they say, not of his own motion, but in compliance with pressing representations and entreaties from King John III.,\* who complained that those New Christians were receiving the doctrines of Luther, which then began to find acceptance in all parts of the Peninsula.

After some reluctance, real or affected, Clement consented to absolve the King from his obligation to keep the promise made to the Portuguese by his predecessor, and sent the friar, invested with full authority to introduce at once the Holy Office. Don Diego came, but encountered the execrations of the inhabitants ; and the New Christians expostulated so strongly, that King John was obliged to consent to remit the case to Rome for re-consideration. Clement died meanwhile ; and his successor, Paul III., struggling under a sense of honour, hesitated to confirm the act of his predecessor. But, overcome by the pressing solicitation of the King of Portugal, and the prevailing spirit of the Church, he issued a Bull, (March 23d, 1536,) that satisfied the importunities of fifteen years, and enabled King John fully to avenge the contempt which, as he said, those Judaizers had shown to ceremonies of the mass and images of the saints. His Holiness named three bishops as commissaries, or sub-Inquisitors, with Silva, to whom he gave the title of Inquisitor-in-chief, and commanded them to act in conjunction with the ordinary of the diocese, but for three years to follow the practice of criminal courts, and proceed according to common right. He also forbade the confiscation of property ; thus, as he conceived, in some degree adapting the odious institution to the circumstances of the

\* Never was king more priest-ridden than John III. ; and the probability is that he was moved by the new Society of Jesus, whose members had great influence over him, and engaged him to send the first Inquisitors to Goa.



country. In due time a Supreme Council was formed in Lisbon, which sat twice every week.

Thus began the Inquisition of Portugal, as the documents quoted by Antonio de Sousa \* demonstrate.

Some writers, following Páramo, relate that one Juan Perez de Saavedra, a clever impostor, having forged a Bull, in the year 1540, to the purport that the Tribunals of Portugal should be assimilated to those of Spain, assumed the dress and title of a cardinal, came with a splendid equipage to Badajoz, a town on the Spanish frontier, acted as Papal Nuncio, received all the honours that should be paid to such a personage, visited the Holy Houses, instructed the Inquisitors, heard appeals, redressed grievances, levied contributions, accepted presents, suffered his attendants to receive fees, did much "good," as he afterwards pleaded, by diminishing the odium of the Inquisition through such acts of lenity as were never known to be performed by any true Inquisitor, took money, indeed, but, unlike real Inquisitors, did not take life. He learned inquisitorial secrets, but divulged none of them. When discovered to be an impostor, he pleaded that, for the skilful management of so beneficial a fraud he deserved praise and reward. He was arrested, notwithstanding, and sent to expiate his offence against inquisitorial and pontifical dignity by nineteen years' labour in the galleys. His fraud, it might have been expected, and the presumption of heresy which attends all offences against the Inquisition, should have brought him to the stake. But it was not so. Confessors of Christ are they who go to the stake. Fraud is too agreeably familiar to be counted a mortal sin; and even Philip II. of Spain, severely zealous as he was, sent for "the false Nuncio of Portugal" after his release from punishment, and complacently bade him relate his adventures. He did so, but adorned the narrative with romance enough to provide material for a novel and a play, very popular in Portugal, exhibiting the tricks of Saavedra, "*O falso Nuncio de Portugal.*" And the popularity of the tale might mislead those who did not critically examine dates, and could not detect improbabilities.

\* *Aphorismi Inquisitorum.*

Some who have closely studied this episode in the history of Portugal think they find a solution of the improbability that, at the first glance, would make it appear incredible. They suppose the imposture to have been favoured by Charles V. and the Jesuits. Charles, they observe, had married the sister of King John. In his reign the Jesuits arose, became excessively influential in his court, were admitted to his fullest confidence, gave themselves to the promotion of his plans, and acted as spies over his servants. Charles, dreaming of a universal empire, would fain have annexed Portugal to Spain as a first step towards it; for it has ever been the ambition of the Spaniards to make the Peninsula all their own. The Jesuits, therefore, were not unlikely to avail themselves of a project that would tend to aggrandize their order. The most intelligent Portuguese are said to have entertained this opinion; and although it cannot be affirmed that "the false Nuncio" was a creature of Charles and the Jesuits, it is certain that he was so considered. The indulgence, nay, the honour, that was afterwards extended to him by Philip II., strengthens the probability that the common report was true.

The partition of Portugal into inquisitorial districts very soon took place. The Tribunal of Evora was erected by De Silva, in the year 1537; with Juan de Melho, afterwards Archbishop of Evora, for its first Inquisitor. In 1539 Cardinal Henry, second Inquisitor-General, established that of Lisbon; to which court he transferred De Melho, with orders to make a beginning there also. And the same Cardinal created a third at Coimbra, in 1541, under the administration of two Commissary Inquisitors; Bernardo da Cruz, a Dominican, and Affonso Gomez, a Canonist.

If we had all the correspondence that passed between the true Nuncio and King John, and the Court of Rome, we might, perhaps, gain a clear insight into the earlier history of the Portuguese Inquisition, and the veil which now hides most of the proceedings of the Inquisition and Government of Lisbon at that time might be withdrawn. But enough is published to show that those proceedings were atrocious.

From a Brief of Paul III. to the King, (June 16th, 1545,) we learn that Simon de Vega, His Majesty's ambassador, had

taken a letter to Rome five months before, advocating the cause of the Inquisition in Portugal, and complaining at great length, and in no very respectful terms, of a former Brief, wherein the Pope had forbidden that neophytes, (otherwise called New Christians,) then imprisoned, should be subjected to any further trial or punishment, until Giovanni Ricci, Bishop-elect of Siponto, had further informed him concerning some of them. The Pontiff wondered that the King, with an air of bitterness very unbecoming in a Christian, had demanded permission to inflict vengeance on the Jews, and full severity on heretics. Then he proceeded to tell him that he had received many and sore complaints of the conduct of the Inquisitors, who were accused of having burnt many persons unjustly, and of having kept very many more in custody in order to burn them also unjustly. He had therefore commanded judgment to be suspended, and a report of the doings of those ministers of the Holy Office to be transmitted to himself, that he might see whether they had been just or unjust.

The truth is, that the pontifical authority was resisted by the Inquisition. When Paul III. confirmed the appointment of Fray Diego de Silva, he did so under a compromise with the agent of the New Christians in Rome, who obtained, by the usual method, an order for the release of his brethren then in the prisons of the new Inquisition in Lisbon. But those Inquisitors, headed by the King, refused to open the prisons; while the Nuncio, resolved to maintain the dignity of the Pope, caused the proclamation of pardon to be affixed to the church-doors, and himself went to the prisons, saw them opened, and released one thousand and eight hundred persons from durance, and many of them, no doubt, from death. On the other hand, the King persisted in hostility to the Pope, and placed his forces at the service of the Inquisitors, who furiously renewed the persecution. At the same time, Duarte de Paz, a Knight of St. John, agent of the persecuted people, was actively engaged at Rome in moving the court to enforce the favourable orders his clients had purchased. At length, Papal authority overcame the fury of John III. Paul commanded the Cardinal Henry of Portugal, head of the Inquisition, both as chief Inquisitor, and by virtue of his

dignity as legate, to exhort the King his "brother" to abstain from unchristian severity. And to his "son" the King the Pope sent another Brief, exhorting him to be careful that while the Inquisition was *free*, it should also be *moderate*; to remember that those neophytes were as yet but babes in Christianity, and that both nature and Holy Scripture teach us to treat babes with soft words rather than threatenings.

For Lutheran heretics, however, no one had been commissioned to purchase Briefs; and they were left to burn, unpitied. Doubtless the Pope would allow *their* condemnation to be just. A deep shade of obscurity covers those victims. We find it everywhere stated, indeed, that *Autos* were no less frequent in Portugal than in Spain, but we do not find authentic material for a consecutive sketch; and must therefore be content to mark a few instances, and give a comparatively brief notice of the Inquisition in Portugal.

*William Gardiner*, a native of Bristol, was a man "honestly brought up, and by nature given unto gravity; of a mean stature of body, of a comely and pleasant countenance, but in no part so excellent as in the inward qualities of the mind, which he always, from his childhood, preserved without spot of reprehension." Having been respectably educated, he entered into the service of a merchant who had connexions both in Spain and Portugal; and, when about twenty-six years of age, was sent to Spain for the transaction of business, but, putting into Lisbon, was there detained for some time. His rapid acquisition of the language, and acquaintance with the commercial relations of his employer, led to his establishment in that port. In those days Englishmen were earnest Protestants, and some such were then in Lisbon, "good and honest men." In their society, with help of good books, and by the blessing of God, he became increasingly earnest in the cultivation of personal religion. On the first day of September, 1552, a son of the King of Portugal was married to a Spanish princess: the wedding was solemnized with great pomp in the cathedral; the King first, and then every estate in order, flocked into the church; mass was celebrated with the utmost ceremony, and "the Cardinal did execute." The young Englishman, who had hitherto kept aloof from Romish worship, had gone with the multitude to see the wedding, rather than the mass, which now he saw in perfec-

tion. The Cardinal stood, elevating the host; the people, "with great devotion and silence, praying, looking, kneeling, and knocking." Gardiner felt the horror that seizes on a Christian mind in such a situation, and went home sad. He did not tell the cause of his heaviness to any one; but, "seeking solitariness and secret places, falling down prostrate before God, with manifold tales he bewailed the neglecting of his duty, deliberating with himself how he might revoke that people from their impiety and superstition." But he came to a determination that could not be executed without putting his life in peril; and, not shrinking from the sacrifice, he deliberately settled all his temporal affairs, paying his debts, and leaving his accounts balanced, and then continued night and day in prayer and meditation in Holy Scripture.

In course of the nuptial festivities another mass was to be performed, the King and the royal family being present, and the Cardinal officiating. William Gardiner was there "early in the morning, very cleanly appareled, even of purpose, that he might stand near the altar without repulse." The King and his train came, the crowd filled the church, and Gardiner, as if carried nearer by the press, took a seat almost close to the altar, having a Testament in his hand, which he read, heedless of the scene. Mass began. But he sat still. "He which said mass proceeded: he consecrated, sacrificed, lifted up on high, showed his god unto the people. All the people gave great reverence; and, as yet, he stirred nothing. At last they came unto that place of the mass where they use to take the ceremonial host, and toss it to and fro round about the chalice, making certain circles and semicircles.\* Then the said William Gardiner, not being able to suffer any longer, ran speedily unto the Cardinal, and, even in presence of the King, and all his nobles and citizens, with the one hand he snatched away the cake from the priest, and trod it under his feet, and with the other overthrew the chalice."

They were all astounded; but, after the dead silence of a moment, a great cry rose from all the congregation; nobles and common people ran together to seize him, and one of

\* In what is called "the lesser elevation."

the latter wounded him in the shoulder with a dagger. But the King commanded him to be saved, and reserved for examination. The tumult having subsided, he was brought before His Majesty, who asked him what countryman he was, and how he dared to commit such an act, in his presence, against the sacraments of the Church. He answered, "Most noble King, I am not ashamed of my country, who am an Englishman, both by birth and religion, and am come hither only for traffic of merchandise. And when I saw, in this famous assembly, so great idolatry committed, my conscience neither ought nor could any longer suffer, but that I must needs do that which you have seen me presently do. Which thing, most noble Prince, was not done nor thought of by me for any contumely or reproach of your presence, but only for this purpose, as before God I do clearly confess, to seek only the salvation of this people."

Supposing that he had been instigated by others, Edward VI. being then on the throne of England, and anxious to obtain information, they put him into the care of surgeons, and, when his wound was nearly healed, subjected him to the usual process of examination. He persisted in declaring that they only who committed such gross idolatry were the cause of his action. They took possession of his papers, but could learn nothing. They imprisoned all the English that were then in Lisbon, but could not find that he had any accomplice or adviser. They questioned him as to religion; and so far was he from attempting to evade their inquisition, that he disputed fearlessly with the theologians, using Latin, which, for such a subject, was more familiar to him than Portuguese. Then they administered various kinds of torture; and, among others, forced a ball down his throat, and drew it up again with such violence, and so often repeated, that death would have been more tolerable. After the tormentors had wearied themselves in vain, and he still declared that he would do the same again, were it possible, to testify against their idolatrous perversion of a holy sacrament, they brought him to the vestry of the cathedral, and chopped off his right hand, which he took up with his left, and kissed. Then they took him to the market-place, cut off his left hand, and mounted him on an ass. From the

market-place they carried him thus to the river-side, hoisted him up over a pile of wood, which was set on fire ; and, by a rope and pulley, they alternately let him down into it, and pulled him up, that the populace might enjoy the sight of his half-roasted body. " In this great torment, for all that, he continued with a constant spirit ; and, the more terribly he burned, the more vehemently he prayed." All this time they were exhorting him to repent, and pray to the Virgin ; but he preached to them in return, entreating them to leave off such vanity and folly. " When Christ," said he, " ceases to be *your* Advocate, then will I pray the Virgin Mary to be mine." Life was ebbing out, and with his last breath he prayed, "*Judica me, Deus, et discerne causam meam de gente non sanctâ :*" " Judge me, O God, and defend my cause against an ungodly people." He was endeavouring to recite the psalm, when they drew him up and down with violence, the burning rope broke, and he fell into the pile, and was heard no more.

One *Pendigrace*, his fellow-lodger, was kept in the Inquisition for two years, and frequently tortured ; but he said nothing that could enable the Inquisitors to proceed against any of his countrymen, and, after his release, returned to England. From a narrative written by *Pendigrace*, and confirmed by the testimony of other Englishmen, *Foxe*, our great martyrologist, derived the information, as we find it in his "*Acts and Monuments.*"

Scotland was honourably represented at Coimbra. The learned *George Buchanan* was first Professor of Greek and Latin in the university recently established in that city. He had fled from Scotland as one suspected of Lutheranism, and again incurred suspicion. We take his own account of the matter, as it is written with remarkable moderation. He says that they insulted him most bitterly, stranger as he was, one who certainly had not many there to rejoice in his safety, or to sympathize with him in suffering, or to avenge his wrongs. A composition in verse that he had written in Scotland against the Franciscans, but for which the King of Portugal had excused him before he left France to teach in Coimbra, was brought against him. Yet the accusers knew not what it was ; for he had only given one copy to the

King of Scotland, at whose desire he wrote it. They made it a crime that he ate flesh in Lent, although it was said that there was no one in Portugal who did not do the like. Some things that he said were capable of application to the monks, but those were sayings that none but monks would consider criminal; and they were alleged against him. They were angry that in a familiar conversation with some young Portuguese, when speaking of the eucharist, he had said that he regarded Augustine as very favourable to a view condemned by the Church of Rome. These charges they had extracted as evidence from three prisoners in the Inquisition, whose names he never knew. Other two, Jean Tolpin, a Norman, and Giovanni Ferreri, a Piedmontese, bore witness that they had heard many trustworthy persons aver that Buchanan thought ill of the Roman religion.

And to be brief: after the Inquisitors had troubled themselves and him for a year and a half, that they might not be thought to have vexed a man not altogether unknown without some reason, they shut him up in a monastery for some months, that the monks might teach him more exactly. Now those monks were neither unkind nor bad, except as they were utterly ignorant of all religion. But so little troubled was he, that it was chiefly at this time that he reduced to verse several of the Psalms of David.\* Buchanan, therefore, was not the worse, nor was the world the poorer, for this persecution, which tended to concentrate his attention on the ever-blessed word of God, and to make the fruit of those studies public. He was released about the year 1550 or 1551, and lost little time in getting well out of Portugal.

In 1560, *Mark Burges*, another Englishman, master of the ship "*Minion*," was burnt in Lisbon. In the same year, the Inquisition of Goa was added to the four; namely, those of Portugal, Lisbon, Evora, and Coimbra. But of Goa we must speak separately in due time.

The Inquisitors burnt Protestants at every opportunity; but their business was chiefly with the descendants of Jews, who remained separate from the original Portuguese, and were still called New Christians. Nor was any occasion missed,

\* *Georgii Buchanani Vita ab ipso scripta Biennio ante Mortem. Buchan. Opera, tom. i.*



either in Rome or Lisbon, for making gain of those unhappy people, by keeping them alive, so long as bigotry was not stronger than cupidity. Thus, in 1579, Sebastian having been beaten by the Moors in a luckless expedition to Africa, they obtained a Bull from Gregory XIII. to exempt them for ten years from confiscation of their property by Inquisitors, in consideration of a sum equal to £250,000 which they had contributed for its outfit. Philip II. of Spain strongly objected to this act of bare justice; and when Cardinal Henry, the same man whom Pope Paul III. had been induced to employ for the protection of that very people, succeeded to his nephew Sebastian on the throne, either forgetting his earlier lessons, or remembering that Papal charity is but venal, he obtained consent of the same Pope to annul the so-called indulgence three months after its publication. Learned men on other occasions set their faces against similar compacts with rich heretics, who were fleeced in Portugal as relentlessly as now are the Jews in Morocco, and murdered afterwards.

Clement VIII. (August 23d, 1604) issued a Bull of nominal indulgence, reciting similar documents of Clement VII. and Paul III.: but it only aggravated the wretchedness of their condition by the restrictions with which it was loaded; and De Sousa acknowledges that its intention was, not to relieve the complainants, but, new circumstances having arisen, so to alter the inquisitorial regulations as to provide a new remedy for heresy. In fact, it was a pardon for past offences under certain conditions; but, after the publication of that pardon, a system of inquisition was to follow, far less easy of escape than any that had preceded. From that time amnesties with spiritual offenders were not repeated, because, as the Portuguese theologians contended, all the tenderness ever spent on heretics had been spent in vain. This was no doubt sincerely said, although it reads like the irony of an enemy; and we may understand it as a confession that the Reformation had taken so deep root that the Inquisition could not extirpate it.

Now, after the lapse of more than two centuries, we wonder at the mockery of a sermon delivered at an *Auto-de-Fé* in Evora, (A.D. 1637,) by a commissary of the Holy Office,

and Prior of the Dominicans. "My well-beloved Portuguese," cried the monk, "let us render our heartiest thanksgivings to heaven for the signal favour that has been shown us in this holy tribunal. If we had not had this, our kingdom would have become a bush without flowers, and without fruit, fit only to be burnt. . . . Let us just look on England, France, Germany, and the Low Countries, and see what progress heresy has made through lack of an Inquisition. We shall have no difficulty in understanding that we should have been like those places, had we been deprived of so great a benefit."\*

Yet the Inquisition has not yet been able to keep the Gospel out of Portugal, as the ecclesiastics themselves confess. The copy of an address recently presented on behalf of "a few true Portuguese" to the Patriarch of Lisbon lies before me, wherein I read that they deplore the misery of their "poor and unhappy nation, great when it was not governed by strangers," but where now, as they are pleased to say, "the ministers of hell do labour, without ceasing, to pull down the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion to the ground."†

\* *Sermon do Padre Frey Antonio Continho, impresso em Lisboa, 1638.*

† *A Nação, Lisboa, 6 de Março, 1868.*

## CHAPTER XXV.

## PORTUGAL: THE JESUIT VIEYRA, AND OTHERS.

ANTONIO VIEYRA, a Jesuit missionary in South America, returned to Portugal in the year 1661; and, on the authority of a summary published by the Inquisitors, describes the sufferings of some victims in an *Auto* held at Evora in the year preceding.

*Maria da Conceição*, born in the town of Estramoz, daughter of *Manoel Soares Pereira*. Manoel was still living in Lisbon, with a son; and so both father and brother could assist the missionary to understand her case. She was apprehended, together with two of her sisters, all three being unmarried, on suspicion of Judaism. She made an abjuration in due form, but that was not enough to satisfy the Inquisitors, and their interrogations did not elicit anything in reply whereon to found a sentence. They therefore ordered her to be stripped, and, with no other covering than the usual coarse canvas drawers, she was laid on the rack. For some time she endured the torture, and by silence nearly overcame the tormentors, when, unable to resist any longer, she confessed to the whole charge. Satisfied for the time, they slackened the cords, took her off the rack, put on her clothes, carried her back to the cell, and, as soon as she had recovered the use of her limbs, brought her into court again, to ratify her confession. But, instead of doing this, she told their lordships that everything she had said while under the executioners' hands was entirely false; that she was a sincere Christian, and always had been; but that a false confession to the contrary had been wrung from her in the extremity of torture.

On hearing this, they ordered her to be racked again; and

the torture being applied as cruelly as before, she sank again under its violence, and repeated the same confession, which was taken down in writing while her limbs were yet stretched. This done, she was taken down, and carried to her cell. As soon as she could be removed, she was brought again to her judges, who bade her confirm the first and second confessions. She still persisted in the same answer ; and had now the courage to add that, if they were to rack her a hundred times, she should always act in the same manner until she expired, or, at least, so long as God should give her strength to support the torments. Their cruel treatment, she said, and her own frailty, might possibly force her again to confess that of which she was perfectly innocent, yet, the moment she was taken off the rack, she would refuse to ratify what had been thus extorted from her. She further entreated them to take her case into serious consideration, and to undeceive themselves ; and, in the most pathetic terms, assured them that this was her final resolution, and that all the torments in the world would not make her alter it. The unrelenting Inquisitors were so provoked by what she said, that they instantly ordered her to be racked the third time ; and, as the summary itself declares, she underwent this torture with amazing constancy.

For refusing to ratify those extorted confessions, after having thrice borne the torture, which was as often as the rule of the Inquisition allowed, she was condemned to be whipped through the streets by the common hangman, and then to be banished, for ten years, to the island of Principe, on the western coast of Africa.

It would be too tedious to relate many circumstances of wanton and capricious tyranny that attended the arrest and imprisonment of those three sisters, against whom there were very trifling accusations, if any ; and neither Inquisitors nor familiars so much as knew their names.\* One might wonder that the Inquisitors should have read out the story at the *Auto*, and printed it afterwards ; but their power was at

\* From a collection of Letters entitled, " Authentic Memoirs concerning the Portuguese Inquisition, &c." London, 1761. Letter IV. The account of *Maria da Conceição* is said to be translated from an account written in Portuguese by Antonio Vieyra, and bears marks of authenticity.

that time uncontrolled ; and it pleased them to spread terror through the land by such recitals, for the exaltation of their office, and for the maintenance of their sanguinary faith.

We now come to some of the most noteworthy passages in the history of the Inquisition of Portugal : and, first, concerning this same Jesuit, Vieyra.

His boyhood was spent in Bahia, and the rudiments of his education acquired in the Jesuit school in that city. His father never intended him to join that ill-reputed Company ; but, as its members made it a virtue to decoy promising youths from their homes, and to alienate their affections from their parents, so did the heads of that establishment, and Antonio, when but a child, became their prey. When about thirty-three years of age, he appeared on the theatre of Jesuit activity in Lisbon. King John IV. made him a preacher in the chapel-royal ; and, finding that he had talent for negotiation as well as for preaching, employed him on political missions in England, Holland, and France, and, finally, in Rome. At Rome he was induced to devote himself to the romance of mission service, according to the spirit and obligation of his order, went to South America again, and continued in the field until the Portuguese in Brazil, weary of Jesuit missionaries, put him and his colleagues on board ship, and sent them across the seas. Having reached Lisbon, he went straightway to Court, pursued his political vocation, attached himself to the cause of the licentious Queen, and took an active part in promoting the deposition of her miserable spouse, Affonso. Passing over matters that have no relation to our present history, we find him driven from Lisbon, and under disgrace at Coimbra, in the year 1663.

There his political and ecclesiastical enemies bethought themselves of heresies that he had striven to propagate with characteristic energy ; and after hearing him deliver many sermons, having accumulated from his own lips much material for evidence against him, they consigned him to a dungeon in the Inquisition of Coimbra, on the second day of October, 1665, and kept him there until December 24th, 1667. During that time he underwent repeated examinations ; and the official record of his case, as published by the Inquisitors,

and republished by their friends, under royal authority, furnishes the picture of a heretic of a peculiar class, and supplies an important link in our history. From a very copious and authentic record,\* we note as follows.

Like many Romanists who cannot be satisfied with the dream of a real presence of the Lord Jesus Christ on their altars, but wander in the reverie of a real presence in human form, Vieyra was a millenarian. He had written a paper on "The Hopes of Portugal, Fifth Empire of the World," having for its object to prove that one Bandarra, a shoemaker, was a true prophet. He quoted certain predictions of the said Bandarra, to the purport that, about a hundred years before the universal resurrection, a certain dead King of Portugal would rise from his grave, become a great conqueror, and be Emperor of the world. The General Council of the Inquisition of Portugal, and the Sacred Congregation of the Universal Inquisition at Rome, each sat in very solemn consultation over this silly paper. They extracted and condemned a multitude of propositions, and among others these following:—

"1. That a dead King would rise again to reign over a fifth empire.

"2. That, to make way for the fifth empire, the Roman empire would be extinguished.

"3. That this might be expected on the credit of Bandarra.

"4. That the said deceased King had promised, before his death, that he would come again to fulfil the prophecy of Bandarra.

"5. That the shoemaker's predictions were infallible.

"6. That such a resurrection is to be expected with the certainty of faith, as strong as would have been that of Abraham for the resurrection of Isaac from his ashes.

"7. That the resurrection of that King would prove the mission of that prophet.

"8. That under his reign all the Jews and all the Gentiles would be converted.

\* *Dedução Chronologica, e Analytica. Dada á luz pelo Doutor Joseph de Seabra da Sylva. Lisboa, 1767. PROVA Num. xlv.*

"9. That the ten tribes of Israel would be assembled, and, by the said King, would be presented to the Pope.

"10. That, after this event, Satan would be bound a thousand years.

"11. That the world would live in innocence, without war, and without trouble, until the loosing of Satan, the coming of Antichrist, and the day of judgment."

The author was brought to the table of the Inquisition, and interrogated after the usual manner. He acknowledged the millenarian paper to be his. He confessed that he had said, in the hearing of several persons, that "in order that it might be known in that kingdom who among the New Christians, baptized out of the Jewish nation, were or were not true Catholics, and who were still Jews, a town or towns might be granted them, whither they might proceed, and where they should have liberty of conscience. He said that they being there assembled, a resolution should be taken whether it would be better to expel from the kingdom such as were not Jews, or to keep them in it." He owned the proposal; but declared that it was ventured with submission to conscience, and subject to the rejection or approval of the Apostolic See. He acknowledged that in some sermons he had spoken in a prophetic style, predicting both calamities and blessings to Portugal.

In due time he was brought up again from the dungeon into the presence of the Inquisitors, and told that the Inquisition of Portugal and the Supreme Tribunal at Rome agreed together in condemning his propositions as "foolish, rash, scandalous, injurious, sacrilegious, offensive to pious ears, erroneous, and savouring of heresy." Then they recounted the censurable sentences, one by one; and the heretic, instead of submitting without reserve, prayed permission to explain himself. He was permitted accordingly, and explained at length. This indulgence, conceded to him as a rather eminent member of a Society that until recently had been all-powerful in Portugal, he made use of to plead that his opinions harmonized with those of the Church of Rome.

One thing, however, it is said, exposed him to the ire of his judges beyond almost any heretical dogma he could have uttered. It is reported that he said, in the words of Alonso

de Castro,\* "Cease to make inquest after heresies. They had better all come out to open day, that they who so readily pronounce against heresy may see how easy it is to be in error." He rebuked the haste of some daring censors, who, panting to speak ill of the doctrine of others, themselves maintained error and falsehood; and bitterly complained that his judges had used force and violence, denying him the natural right of making a defence, insisting that he should only give them his confession, endeavouring to detect his hidden thoughts, and setting down against him answers he had not made. Their only reply to this remonstrance was a rebuke that, in the hearing of some persons, he had said that it would be well for the kingdom if the names of informers and witnesses at that Board were published for the information of New Christians when accused of Judaism, and proceeded against in consequence. And he had also advised the admission of Jews to public offices, and proposed that they should never be troubled on account of religion, provided they said nothing against it.

"And the process having reached this point, at which the obstinacy of the criminal in his erroneous and dangerous opinions was leading him blindfold towards a miserable precipice; in order that he might have certain knowledge in this inquisition that the first nine propositions, taken from the said paper of the Fifth Empire of the World, on which all the others depended, and were derived from by the criminal, were not only censured, as already stated, by the most grave examiners of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office at Rome, but that also, being seen, after their censure, by the Holiness of Pope Alexander VII., he expressly approved that censure, and commanded notice of this to be given by the said Congregation to the General Council of the Holy Office of this kingdom, and the papers so condemned, and the inventions of Bandarra so prohibited here, as, in effect, they are."

This condemnation was made known to Vieyra at the table of the Holy Office. A hundred and four propositions,

\* I cannot believe that De Castro ever said anything like this. It is possible, of course; but I have not found anything in his book tending in the like direction. Vieyra may himself have so spoken.



extracted from his paper on the Fifth Empire, were read; and he made, or was said to have made, an unqualified retractation of them all, "submitting himself to that which was decided by His Holiness, (and previously censured by the ministers of the Holy Office,) as becomes an obedient son of the Holy Catholic Roman Church."

The guardians of the faith commanded that the culprit should hear his sentence in the hall of the Inquisition, in the accustomed form, before the Inquisitors and other ministers of the same, with some monks and priests belonging to the University; and be "deprived for ever of active or passive voice, forbidden to preach, and confined in that college or house of his own religion which the Holy Office may assign to him, and never go out of it without their order: that, for the term by them appointed, he be obliged to abstain from treating on those propositions of which he was convicted, either by word or writing, on pain of being punished severely: and that, after the sentence is thus published, it be published again in the college of this city," (Coimbra,) "by one of the notaries of the Holy Office in presence of all the community: and they shall relieve him from the greater condemnation that for his faults he merited, having respect, &c.; and *he must pay the costs.*"

This sentence was published to the culprit in the hall of the Inquisition, on Friday evening, December 23d, 1667, two hours and a quarter being spent in reading it; and on the Saturday morning following it was published in his college, whence he was taken to the Jesuit-house at Pedroso, which was assigned to him for the place of his confinement; but which, before his leaving, was changed by the General Council for the house of the Cotovia in Lisbon; and, being in that house, he was released and pardoned by the same Council, at the end of the month of June, 1668. In August, 1669, he left the Court of Lisbon for that of Rome, with licence from the King, and at the summons of the General of his Order, who wished to do him honour, and was ready to retaliate on the indignity done to the whole Company in the person of one of its most eminent members. An opportunity for retaliation soon occurred.

Only a few days before the publication of the sentence on

Vieyra, another Jesuit, Nuno da Cunha, had been summoned by the Queen-Mother to a private conference, to concert a measure for the deposition of the King, Affonso VI. It matters not to inquire whether that young King deserved such treatment, nor to know the character of his mother, Donha Luisa, nor of his wife, who retired to a convent, was divorced from him, and married his successor on the throne of Portugal. It is enough to note that the Jesuits managed this affair; and that in the reign of Dom Pedro IV., whom they patronized, the Inquisition lost just what the Society gained. During the regency of Dom Pedro, Vieyra was released from Lisbon, and went to Rome, there to assist in carrying on an attack on that Tribunal. Thanks, then, to Jesuit influence, that Vieyra was not racked and  
• burnt, just like any worthless plebeian too insignificant to be known by name and surname, or like one of the Jews.

In the year 1672 a general attack was made on all the New Christians in Lisbon, in consequence of the loss—or, perhaps, the secret removal by some priest—of a few *forms*, or wafers, from one of the churches. There was no one on whom suspicion could be fixed; but the Inquisitors, if they had not contrived the occasion, resolved to profit by it, seized many hundred persons who had the misfortune to be of Jewish descent, drew on them a flood of popular outrage, and subjected them to the dreadful ordeal of torture. Their  
• sufferings, for once, excited pity; and some Portuguese noblemen, bishops, monks, and doctors, went in a body to the King, and begged him to put an end to these atrocities. His Majesty did not dare to open the dungeons, take out the innocent sufferers, and incarcerate the guilty Inquisitors in their stead; but he did presume to refer the matter to the Court of Rome. Before an answer could be had, the thief was detected, not a New Christian, but an old one; and therefore the prisoners ought, in common honesty, to have been released, and compensated, so far as compensation could be made; but the Inquisitors thought that such an act would be beneath their dignity, and therefore kept the prisoners immured, in order to question them further, in the presumption that they must have had some communication with the criminal.

The appeal to Rome was prosecuted; and Pope Clement X., that he might judge of their manner of conducting trials, commanded the chiefs of the Holy Office to send the records of four. They refused. The Pope insisted. No reports were forthcoming. The Pope threatened them with excommunication. They began to fear; and, not able to send the reports of four causes, not having so many on record, they managed to send two. The King, sharing in the indignation of the complainants, prosecuted his application to the Court of Rome for a reform in the rules and administration of the Inquisition, but gained nothing. After his death, the Inquisitors had the audacity to go to his widow, *Donha Luisa*, then, by the law of Portugal, Queen-Regnant, take her to the grave of her late consort, exhume his body, and treat it with brutal insult in her presence. No doubt there was a mingling of political passion with inquisitorial barbarism in this instance; but that only made their conduct the more abominable.

In the year 1690 a deputation from the New Christians of Portugal appeared in Rome, and threw themselves at the feet of Alexander VIII., imploring pity on five hundred prisoners, of all ranks and ages, then in the dungeons, who had been arrested without respect of sex or condition, and had lain there, some fourteen years, some twelve, and none less than seven.

On reviewing the affairs of this Inquisition, we find few traces of true Gospel Christianity among its victims. Darkness and the shadow of death covered the land; and the hired guardians of the faith having few objects of persecution on account of religion, kept their places by making other victims. Cupidity, perhaps, more than bigotry, led them to the New Christians; and the prevalence of magic and witchcraft afforded them constant occupation. A superstitious dread of innovation enabled them to enlarge the circle of their operations; and I borrow an amusing anecdote to diversify for a moment this dismal history.

Just thirty years after an Italian Jesuit, *Francesco Lana Terzi*, had published the first hint for aerostation, in his "*Prodromo di alcune Invenzioni nuove*," another member of the Society, *Bartolomeo Gusmão*, arrived at Lisbon from a

mission in Brazil. Once, when in that country, his attention was caught by some extremely light vegetable substance, spherical and hollow, that was floating like a bubble in the air. He tried to imitate nature, and succeeded in inflating bags of thin paper with hot air, or some kind of gas, and sending them up towards the sky. At length he constructed a real balloon, and conceived the idea of ascending with it to the clouds. Full of this project was he when he set foot on shore at Lisbon. His balloon went up, as if to pilot for a more daring flight; and Lisbon gazed upwards, as with the eye of one man. The clergy shuddered at this trespass on a region hitherto inaccessible to mankind; but when they heard that Gusmão proposed to mount bodily with it, or with one like it, they thought it high time to interfere, and the innovator was brought into their presence. They demurred at the safety of such an ascent, as well they might; and the inventor, not fathoming the depth of their abhorrence, assured them that there would be no danger whatever, nor any difficulty either, and that he would engage to carry away into the winds the Grand Inquisitor himself, and all the members of the Inquisition. The irreverent proposal confirmed their Lordships in the persuasion by this time prevalent in Lisbon, that Gusmão was possessed by the devil; and, instead of consenting to be carried up into empty space, they sent him down into a dark cell, and put an end, at least for their time, to any chance of attempting such excursions. In vain did he attempt to assure them that the balloon, or whatever else he might have called the vehicle, was not framed in contempt of any doctrine, or in violation of any law, of the Church. Their sentence was resistless; and he was sent into his dungeon, there to meditate on the uncertainties of science. The Jesuits, however, used their best influence, and obtained the release of their too venturous brother, who prudently retired over the frontier into Spain. This happened in the year 1700; and in 1724 this pioneer of aeronauts died, not having again ventured to propose an ascent into the realm of air.\*

\* *Histoire Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire, de la Compagnie de Jesus, par J. Crétineau Joly.* Tome iv., chap. 240.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## PORTUGAL: BRIEF HOPE OF REFORMATION.

THE Jesuit *Balthasar da Costa*, Provincial of Malabar, a Jew by blood, and probably a Jew in principle, was at that time resident in the College of Santo Antão, in Lisbon. Touched with sympathy and horror, he resolved to espouse the cause of his brethren, and presented an address, with that intent, to Manoel Fernandes, confessor of Pedro, who was then Regent of the kingdom. As representative of "the Nation," as the baptized Jews were called, he bade the Father Confessor peace in Christ, and proceeded to make a proposal in their behalf.

The conquests of Portugal in India were melting away for want of sufficient forces to retain them. The Provincial of Malabar therefore proposed that three thousand men should be raised, and embarked as quickly as possible; that ships of war should be built in India, where materials and labour were much cheaper than in Portugal; that the army should be increased by constant additions, and the fleet manned as fast as it could be constructed. But, seeing the exhausted state of the Indian revenue, his reverence the Confessor might reasonably ask where money could be found for the creation of a new army and new navy beyond the seas, and the maintenance of such forces for time to come. "Your reverence asks how? I answer: By one means which is not contrary to any law, Divine or human, but may be considered very agreeable to both, as much resembling one of the highest attributes of God,—as we men speak,—which is that of mercy, that attribute which shines forth so brightly in forgiving sinners; and since God has pardoned, thousands of times, those on whom I think this attribute should now be

exercised, princes ought to imitate the same. Let me explain myself. What man of sound understanding would think it strange if His Highness were to give a general pardon to all his people of the Hebrew nation?" The Provincial presses this proposal with great earnestness and force of argument, and asks what would follow that exercise of royal clemency. "A very rich donative would follow; a revival of commerce, and a great accession of martial power and influence, would follow, with recovery of dominion in India. Religion itself would be benefited; for those forces could fight against the enemies of Christ, and, by killing the Indians, would extend the kingdom of the Saviour." Such were this Jew-Jesuit's notions of slaughtering pagans and Nestorians for the greater glory of God.

But would not "the people of the Nation" abuse a general pardon by relapsing into Judaism again? And then would not old mischiefs be repeated? Would not these people, smitten with dread again, flee from Portugal by thousands, carrying their wealth into other kingdoms, defrauding the Exchequer, spoiling the commerce of Portugal, and snapping the very nerves of power in the kingdom? "Again I say, that for this there is a remedy. When a general pardon has been granted, the manner of proceeding with these people in the Holy Tribunal should be reformed by apostolical authority, proceeding with them as they do at Rome. And who can prevent this? Do we want to be more zealous in the faith than the Supreme Pontiff, head of the Church, and Vicar of Christ on earth? Does the Vicar of Christ act against Divine, natural, or ecclesiastical right, in allowing a defence to them that are accused, and permitting them to see the evidence, as the laws of nations require? No one could say this without rashness."

That a reform in the procedure of the Portuguese Inquisition was needed, he showed by referring to the last persecution at Coimbra. "Your reverence knows very well that in order to fix upon ten persons who may be accused, you must first of all take up twenty.....Did not your reverence see in those six hundred and thirty-four, if I remember right, at Coimbra, how many innocent persons were put under penance through false witnesses, and how many were also punished as

falsifiers?" What has happened once may be repeated often, and cannot but be repeated, if things are done in the dark. The proposal, Da Costa acknowledges, may alarm Fernandes, and a storm of indignation may be raised against it by the Inquisitors; but that will not matter much, if His Highness will pursue the object vigorously at Rome: and the object being once gained, there is a person at Rome who will watch what goes forward in that Court,—this is Antonio Vieyra,—and His Highness can use his own sovereign power to see the reform of the Inquisition carried out in Portugal.

Here was a scheme to cut up the very root of the Inquisition. For if a Prince might issue a general pardon to heretics or Jews, and if the temporal power might interfere with the customs of Inquisitors, the Holy Office might be as well shut up. Nevertheless, the scheme was entertained, and was as follows:—

"1. It is proposed that the Inquisitors abstain from imprisonments and executions. If these should cease, His Highness, whom God preserve, would be better served; but the affair must be confided to persons of prudence, and left to the ultimate disposal of His Highness himself.

"2. Whatever is done must be done secretly, or every effort will be baffled. Four persons are named as proper to be trusted, collective deliberations of any greater number are to be avoided, and yet every individual of "the Nation" is to be taken into confidence, not failing one.

"3. All the money necessary for raising the desired number of soldiers shall be paid down in advance, and the recruiting shall begin without loss of time.

"4. Supplies of clothing and provisions shall be forthcoming.

"5. His Highness shall be recommended to send a courier to Madrid, who shall there take post to Rome, which city he may reach in ten days, and there await the decision of His Holiness."

From the pen of Manoel Fernandes we have a further exposition of the project, authenticated, like the other papers, and printed by royal order.

Confessor Fernandes sagaciously begins by declaring that his clients desire no more than that their causes be examined

in truth, and certain inconveniences obviated which might occur, not through any fault of the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, which they profess to acknowledge as very perfect in justice, and very mild in mercy, but through confusion and want of veracity in many people of their own nation, who make accusations to gratify private enmity, and from other dishonest motives. Actuated, then, by the purest Christian motives, and admiring the mercy and justice of Inquisitors, Fernandes merely asks that, for this time, a general pardon be granted them for everything, to leave them just as if, up to the present, they had not committed any delinquency;—that all the prisoners now in durance be released without further penalty; and that in future accused persons be judged at the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition in Portugal, in the same manner as the Holy Father judges them in Rome. For the glory of God, and for the exaltation of the faith of Jesus Christ, they offer at once in this month of March, 1673,—

“1. To land five thousand men in India, with all necessaries for their use, at their own cost. The ships in which they go, the peoples of the Nation will hire; and as to any ships that they may hire of His Highness, they will cover all risk by sea, by fire, and by pirates. For the future, they will purchase all the ships necessary; but, at present, time is short, and they need the ready money for the soldiers.

“2. Every year they will convey to India one thousand two hundred men, paid here at their cost, and the ships in which they go. They will send them to whatever part of India may be desired.

“3. Every year they will pay in India twenty thousand crusades towards the maintenance of the forces, beginning with the year 1674.

“4. They will supply all the missionaries to India with provisions for their voyage, and will pay for the letters (Bulls) of all bishops sent to India, so often as bishops shall be wanted.

“5. They will engage to establish a Company for India, supplying the capital in that form which may be agreed on with His Highness, whom God preserve.”

That all this may take effect, they represent that the utmost despatch will be necessary, as there is little time.



And, meanwhile, the Inquisition should abstain from executions and imprisonments, because imprisonments, within the next two months, might be very prejudicial to the business in hand, as is evident.

Grievous must have been the suffering that extorted so large an overture from the baptized Jews of Portugal. They had ventured to the utmost verge of possibility, if not beyond it; and when Fernandes held a conference with the authors of the scheme, and endeavoured to extract yet more, they met his demands with such explanations as demonstrated that if their lives depended on compliance, their lives must be lost, inasmuch as they had calculated to the utmost extent of their ability, and to produce any higher ransom was impossible. Three months more were spent in negotiation; and the Regent, finding that he could not raise the terms any higher, accepted the articles of agreement.

Then Manoel Fernandes, still keeping the secret, drew up a letter to be sent by Dom Pedro to the Pope, praying for his authority to suspend the action of the Inquisition, and to reform its laws. Besides reciting the complaints of the Hebrew nation, the letter stated that, in one year, and in one single *Acto-de-Fé*, no fewer than thirty persons were brought out to be punished for having caused persons to be put to death by bearing false witness against them. Yet that false witnessing was forced by threatenings or torture; for, when in terror of death, or bewildered in agony, these wretched people had named persons of whom they knew nothing, saying anything that the tormentors wished, only to be delivered from their hands. One Inquisitor, having some fear of God, or some feeling of humanity, had relinquished his office in disgust, on seeing persons crowd into his presence to accuse others, without the slightest reason beyond the mere animal instinct of doing something to please the Holy Tribunal, and thereby save their own lives, perish who might. "Through fear of false accusations," says the letter, "neither the good nor the bad feel themselves in safety; and, consequently, the land loses its inhabitants, and multitudes flee away to heretical countries, where many of them lose their faith, and their children continue in heresy, or turn Jews again, to the irreparable injury both of the Church and of

the kingdom, which is drained of its population and its wealth. Even those who have not yet left the country have sent away their capital, in order that, if they be thrown into the Inquisition, it may not be included in the confiscation. Consequently, the kingdom cannot follow up its conquests, especially in India, which is now for the most part in possession of the Dutch, who keep it by the power of a Company, which they strengthen with money brought them by people of 'the Nation.'"

For this reason His Highness prays the Pope to reform the Inquisition of Portugal, and assimilate it to that of Rome. He supplies His Blessedness with a motive for so doing, and for granting a general pardon to that people, by telling them that "they bind themselves for ever to defray the expenses of missionaries of the faith, and also to pay them that are made bishops for India, and to aid with money the propagation of the Catholic faith, which will doubtless be much extended. For which end, I lay this petition before Your Holiness, having first taken counsel with many learned and virtuous persons, and which I hope will have effect, and for the highest reason do so desire."

Francisco d'Azevedo, also a Jesuit, the agent sent to Rome at the cost of the supplicants, discharged his duty very zealously, aided by the no less diligent Vieyra, and communicated intelligence of his proceedings to Fernandes. Without much delay, Pope Clement X. accepted an obviously prudent policy, and sent a Brief to his Nuncio in Lisbon, to be used whenever it might become necessary to restrain the Inquisitors. But the desire of the Regent of Portugal to hold the Inquisition in subjection to the Crown, leaving the King to correspond directly with the Pope, was not granted. The Nuncio, too, kept the Brief to himself, not even informing Dom Pedro that he had received it. On this rock of jealousy of the temporal power, therefore, the whole project of inquisitorial reform was wrecked.

The Inquisitors of Coimbra proceeded, as usual, to celebrate one of their annual *Actos*; and, either in haste to gratify their impatience for the spectacle, or, which is most likely, to avoid the interference of the Pope's Nuncio, whom they knew as representing the mind of Rome just then favourable to

the reform they dreaded, it was determined to light the fires a week before the time accustomed. The Inquisitor-General of Portugal had promised the Nuncio, in general terms, that he would abstain from celebrating *Actos* for the present; but he now pretended to have understood that that promise would be considered to relate to Lisbon only, and not to the provinces. The Roman Congregation of the Inquisition, too, had so tempered the Pope's intention, that the Nuncio was instructed not to interfere, so long as the Inquisitors would suspend those public exhibitions, whatever they might do in the impenetrable secrecy of the torture-chamber and the dungeon.

But this precipitate activity at Coimbra compelled the Nuncio to send his secretary to the Inquisitor-General with the Brief of Inhibition, and a copy of the same to be shown to his companions. The Inquisitors of Coimbra were to be told that if they persisted in their purpose, and held an *Acto*, it would be at their own peril. They would no longer be regarded as Inquisitors, but as private persons; and would be obliged to make reparation of all injuries committed on the sufferers, in honour or in life. He advised the Inquisitor-General to send a special messenger to Coimbra, who might arrive there at night, and have the *Acto* deferred until a future day. The Brief was, as yet, to be kept secret; but if an answer of compliance did not reach the Nuncio before four o'clock that afternoon, he would wait no longer, but then do as he should see fit.

The Inquisitor could not resist that authority, but he complained to the Regent. The Regent, hearing that, after all his pains, the Nuncio was acting without royal sanction, putting a Brief in force in his dominions without his knowledge, became extremely angry; and, when the offender called at the palace next day, refused to see him. This incident might not have prevented the accomplishment of Da Costa's project; for it was approved at Rome. The Cardinal Barberino wrote a letter of thanks to Fernandes for himself and the other members of the Society in Lisbon. Azevedo and Vieyra kept up the good will of their patrons at the Papal Court; and the Inquisition in Portugal would have undergone some permanent change, if the justifiable

jealousy of Dom Pedro, not sufficiently balanced by sound policy and self-possession, had not impelled him to oppose the very measure he had sought.

Active correspondence followed, and Vieyra now appears openly at Rome, endeavouring, through Confessor Fernandes, to induce the Regent of Portugal to make a Jesuit the Grand Inquisitor in his dominions, and thus to bring all the Inquisitors under the control of the Jesuit Confessor and his Company. But the negotiation came to nothing. As for the Indian scheme, the terms were vague, as well as exorbitant, and could hardly have been carried into effect. The Regent, with all his good sense, was moved by covetousness, not pity. The Jesuits were actuated by ambition and revenge, not mercy. The Pope and his creatures obeyed policy rather than religion. The offer of gold had purchased for the baptized Jews a brief hope of deliverance; but the essential spirit of Romanism could not be changed. The *principle* of Inquisition had always been approved by the Jesuits, and allowed by the courtiers, and therefore the momentary impulse failed to produce any permanent result.

Clement X. died in 1676, and Vieyra left Rome. The agent Azevedo could do no more. Innocent XI. ascended the Papal throne; and after the Brief of his predecessor had produced no other effect than to prevent, perhaps, a few imprisonments, and delay a few burnings, it left those who lay in the dungeons of the Holy Office to perish there. At length, the Archbishop of Braga obtained from Innocent a Bull to nullify the Brief of Inhibition, and restore the tribunal in Portugal to full power.\*

Thus ended a remarkable episode in the story of the Inquisition of Portugal. That the sons of Ignatius might kneel down to Mammon, the sons of Dominic had to cease for a little from doing sacrifice to Moloch. But the Supreme and Universal Inquisition retained its ascendancy in Rome, and its fires burst out as fierce as ever. Tenderness, they said, had ever been spent in vain on heretics, and therefore must not be wasted any longer; and in 1682, after the

\* Da Sylva. *Prova*, Num. lvii.

new death-warrant of Pope Innocent, *six* effigies were burnt, instead of so many who had perished in prison; *eighty-two* suffered whipping, or banishment, or were shut up in perpetual prison; *three* were burnt alive, and *one* strangled and burnt. They were accused of Judaism, witchcraft, or immorality.

Let it be observed in passing, that a comparative study of the two Inquisitions of the Iberian Peninsula would disclose a very strongly marked distinction between them. The punctual rigour of the Spanish Inquisitors is not repeated in Portugal, where the student cannot fail to observe a more savage, yet more feeble, discipline. False witnesses, for example, are seldom or never punished in Spain, but rather rewarded; whereas in Portugal they have been punished by scores at once. In Spain, proposals to reform the Tribunal would bring the proposers to the stake; whereas in Portugal the subject is freely canvassed in open day. In the one kingdom an Inquisitor resigning his office in disgust would be surely put to death; but in the other an Inquisitor has been known to resign, not only with impunity, but with applause. Yet the Portuguese *Actos* are distinguished by a brutal excess of torment, betraying a weakness and wantonness far in excess of what we generally find in Spain.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### PORTUGAL : BARBARITIES, ABOMINATIONS, AND DECLINE.

A FOREIGNER in Spain, who saw a crowd of spectators, cowed and uncowed, surrounding a *quemadero*, with a pile of faggots blazing, and a human being shrieking and burning in the midst of it, half concealed, however, by fuel and smoke, might suppose the executioners to be men possessed by infernal spirits, and thus impelled to perpetrate a deed emblematical, as they say, of the last judgment, but certainly presenting a resemblance to hell.

In Portugal, the scene was not less fiendish, and it was also more profoundly brutal. In the Act itself, the Spanish and Portuguese customs were very similar. The use of the gag, for example, prevailed in both, and was affectingly exemplified to Dr. Michael Geddes, when a prisoner was brought out who had been several years shut up in a dungeon where clear daylight never penetrated. He saw the poor man raise his eyes towards the sun, and heard him exclaim in rapture, as if overwhelmed with the majesty of the object, "How can people that behold that glorious body worship any other being than HIM that created it?" Instantly the gag was thrust into his mouth, and the Jesuits who attended him to the *Terreiro de Paco* were not troubled with any more of his reflections. Instead of being marched thence to the place of execution, they who were to be burnt were taken first to common prisons, kept there for an hour or two, and then brought before the Lord Chief Justice, who asked each of them in what religion he intended to die. If he said, "In the Roman Catholic Apostolic," the sentence was, that he should first be strangled, and then burnt. If he named the Protestant, or any other differing from the Romish, that

functionary directed that he should be burnt alive. This rule was universal.

At Lisbon, the place of execution was at the water-side. For each person to be burnt, whether dead or alive, a thick stake, or spar, was erected, not less than twelve feet above ground; and within about eighteen inches of the top there was a thick cross-piece, to serve for a seat, and to receive the tops of two ladders. Between those ladders, which were for the use of two Jesuits, there was one for the condemned person, whom they compelled to mount, sit on the tranverse piece, and there be chained fast. The Jesuits then went up, delivered a hasty exhortation to repentance, and, that failing, declared that they left him to the devil, who was waiting to receive his soul. On perceiving this, the mob shouted, "Let the dog's beard be trimmed;" that is to say, let his face be scorched. This was done by tying pieces of furze to the end of a long pole, and holding the flaming bush to his face, until it was burnt black. The disfiguration of countenance, and his cries for "mercy for the love of God," furnished great part of the amusement for the crowd, who, if he had been suffering death in a less barbarous way for any criminal offence, would have manifested every appearance of compassion. When "the beard" was trimmed, they lit the heap of furze at the foot of the stake, and, if there was no wind, the flame would envelop the seat, and begin to burn the legs; but, as there generally is a breeze on the banks of the Tagus, it seldom reached so high. If there was no wind, he would be dead in half an hour; but the victim generally retained entire consciousness for an hour and a half, or two hours, in dire torment, which the spectators witnessed with such delight as could never be produced by any other spectacle. In short, the burning, or rather roasting to death, was so contrived that the sufferer should be exposed to every spectator, and that his cries from that elevation should be distinctly audible all round.

After such a brutalizing education, who can wonder at the degradation of the Portuguese, notwithstanding the ancient wealth and power of Portugal, once the first maritime nation in the world, with the fertility of the soil, the loveliness of the climate, and the commercial advantages that lie open to

the people, especially in relation to Great Britain ? But the cause of their degradation is evident. The cause is Popery ; and until that be removed, the cure cannot be effected.

From the common humiliation no class of people was exempt. Persons of the highest respectability were made to walk in procession, as penitents, in the so-called Acts of Faith, in punishment of the slightest indiscretion, or in consequence of the most frivolous accusation. This occurred to *Doctor Francisco Figueyras*, a Jew, whose talents and integrity made him valuable to the clergy of Lisbon,—whom he served as advocate, or procurator, of the Archbishop, afterwards Patriarch,—and hateful to the Inquisitors. He was thrown into their prison, narrowly escaped the fire, walked in the garb of a penitent, about the year 1730 ; and some time afterwards, when the Patriarch entered Lisbon in state, the Jewish Doctor walked before him, bearing the *insignia* of the Church whose rights, in the exercise of his functions, he had often skilfully defended, Jew though he was ! \*

Absolutism was never more perfect in Portugal than during the first half of the eighteenth century. All classes were laid level before the Holy Office ; and all were made to furnish agents of malice and cupidity. For example : An impudent beggar, once meeting a merchant's clerk on an errand for his master, thrust a little waxen image of a saint into his face, that he might kiss it ; for it was the custom of beggars to appeal to passengers in the name of saints, and offer them the images to kiss. The young man, being in haste, hurried on without paying attention to beggar or saint ; and for this alleged contempt he was thrown into the Inquisition, (about the year 1750,) and kept there more than a year. He did not walk in the *Acto-de-Fé*, but underwent some secret penance, which they bound him by oath never to divulge. He did keep silence ; but his emaciated frame and gloomy countenance plainly showed how severe it had been.

Bowing to the necessity that compelled obedience from all, the Kings of Portugal swore, at their coronation, to maintain the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, and this they were forced to

\* A Discourse on the Calamities of Portugal, addressed to his Countrymen, and especially to His Most Faithful Majesty, Joseph, King of Portugal, by the Chevalier de Oliveyra. London, 1756.



do; but on various occasions the royal interposition on behalf of subjects under accusation was treated with contempt; and, once at least, insolent Inquisitors ransacked the King's palace in search of prohibited books.\*

Amidst this insolence of power, their pride was humbled by one of the most awful visitations ever known in the history of the world. From the first day of November, 1755, to the seventeenth, the whole Peninsula was agitated by shocks of earthquake; but no city suffered so much as Lisbon. One long shock, lasting for about five minutes, buried more than ten thousand persons in the ruins. Terror seized on the survivors. The rabble, reckless of death, robbed the dying, broke into houses that were yet standing, although shaken, and committed every conceivable atrocity. From prisons, burst open or overthrown, the criminals escaped, and forthwith swelled the flood of crime. In far greater number, the prisoners of the Inquisition, while the hand of heaven was opening the cells, also made their escape. But although the building was in ruins, the institution stood, and inquisitorial vengeance pursued the fugitives, and put many of them to death, on charge of having taken part in the robberies.

The intelligence of this calamity produced a profound impression in England. Every one who confessed belief in Providence spoke of it as a visitation of retributive justice. Whitefield wrote a letter "to the remaining disconsolate inhabitants of Lisbon," attributing the earthquake to the displeasure of Almighty God. Wesley pointed to the insatiable avarice of the King of Portugal, and to the Inquisition, as provocations to this judgment.

The Chevalier de Oliveyra, a Portuguese gentleman who had been convinced of the errors of Romanism, and consequently left his country, and had resided many years in England, no sooner heard of the event than he wrote an impassioned letter to his countrymen and his King, giving utterance to the same conviction. "Among the ruins of Lisbon," he says, "we reckon that of the Tribunal, or palace of the Inquisition. For many years you have cried up how very agreeable this tribunal was to God, for the services they

\* Authentic Memoirs concerning the Portuguese Inquisition. London, 1761. Letter I.

have done Him in supporting the faith, and promoting His glory. He has nevertheless destroyed that Holy Office. Dare you say that in this He has shown Himself ungrateful towards you? or, that He had not power sufficient to preserve His palace from destruction? But is it not very likely, on the contrary, that if He has reduced it to a heap of ruins, it is because He held it in abomination? and that, far from being affected by your false zeal, He truly detests and regards it as a barbarous fury, an infernal persecution; and, of consequence, a service unworthy of Him, being diametrically opposite to what He requires from His servants? On a view, then, of the destruction of what you call the Holy Office, and for the reasons that I have alleged, can any one doubt that, in the sight of God, it is a diabolical Office, only fit to be engulfed in the dark abyss?"

Among the reasons assigned by Oliveyra, and by others also, there was one which they mark with so much emphasis and reiteration, that we can scarcely veil it here. "In the rigorous punishments you inflict for sorcery, bigamy, polygamy, blasphemy, and, in a word, all the sinful errors into which human frailty falls, ye have nevertheless taken great pains to use indulgence, and spare openly, all those who are capable of that abominable crime which formerly drew down the vengeance of the Lord on the cities of the plain; which He destroyed in a manner so terrible and surprising, that that example might remain as an eternal monument to posterity. Whence is this partiality, but that you are yourselves guilty of that crime which modesty forbids me to name? I could furnish you with many incontestable truths; but I shall content myself with reciting the above," drawn from Holy Scripture, "to the inhabitants of Lisbon who are yet living. Dread then, ye miserable frail mortals, dread the melancholy lot of the Plain. Ye have already experienced it in a great measure. So conduct yourselves henceforth that it may not return again amongst you, that ye be not totally consumed." Heresy, he reminds them, was to be punished with confiscation of goods, and infamy to rest on the descendants of the heretic, who is not suffered even to take asylum at the altar; while the *crimen nefandum* did not exclude the guilty from the benefit of sanctuary. The

Aphorisms of De Sousa also show that the property of such a criminal is guarded by a special provision in favour of his family. To the martyr of Christ, to the man who counts not his life dear to him, but lays it down for truth's sake, no such indulgence is afforded.

In view of those abominations, Oliveyra exhorted the King to declare the Inquisition extinct, and forbid the palace to be rebuilt, or any one to assume the title of Inquisitor again. But the exhortation was of no avail. On the 20th of January, 1756, the Chevalier sent presentation-copies to King Joseph, through his secretary of state, to the Queen, to the Prince Dom Manoel, and to the Royal Academy of Portugal. They were burnt at Lisbon by the common hangman, amidst the ruins of the city; and so far were the courtiers and ecclesiastics from acknowledging that tribunal to be accursed, that they claved to it as to a thing most sacred; and when, a few years afterwards, the Jesuits were very justly expelled out of the country, on account of political offences, it was alleged as one of the chief misdoings of that Company, that they had advocated some relaxation of the rigour usually shown towards the Jews.

In Portugal, as for many centuries in England, the Jews were persecuted for their wealth rather than because of their unbelief, and the Inquisitors lent themselves to murder them in prospect of sharing in the spoil. On their behalf Oliveyra remonstrates with the King. Of all men in the world, he says, the Jews possess most perfect knowledge of the arts of commerce; but no sooner has a Jew acquired wealth than he is arrested and strangled by the Inquisition. Or if, having by hard study attained eminence as a physician, he cures the most dangerous and desperate diseases, the Inquisition loads him with irons, and lays him on the rack.

New Christians, too, even falsely accused of Judaizing, were made the victims of cupidity or malice. Of a hundred persons thus accused, and delivered to the flames, Oliveyra says that scarcely two or three were condemned justly. Few, indeed, professed to die in the Law of Moses; and almost all declared themselves Christians to the last, and protested that they had always lived in the religion of Christ, not knowing any other. In vain they confessed themselves after

the Romish manner. In vain they invoked the names of Mary and of the saints, and in those names, and the name of the Saviour, prayed for mercy. The Inquisitors had given sentence, and that sentence was irrevocable. The cruelty was the more flagrant towards those who had been forced by the Inquisition to profess themselves converts from Judaism, and were then persecuted on accusation of wishing to return to Judaism again. Many New Christians, who had scarcely ever heard the name of Moses, and did not so much as know that there was an Old Testament, were charged with Judaizing; or, fearing that snare, fled the country. Neither had they been taught the truths or the obligations of Christianity. They were to be seen in strange countries, wandering vagabonds, scarcely able to beg their bread, so ignorant were they of the languages to be spoken, outcast and starving. Many, again, being of native Portuguese extraction, and having no sympathy whatever with Jew or neophyte, were arrested on a pretended suspicion of Judaizing, than which nothing could be further from their thoughts; and when it was observed that the Inquisition was torturing and burning such persons, the rumour would arise that the Inquisitors themselves were Jews in secret, and the suspicion that they were now avenging on these Old Christians the massacres of Jews in times past, by those who bore the Christian name.

We remember that the Jesuits were supposed to have introduced the Inquisition into the country, and that the false Nuncio of Portugal was reputed to be a creature of theirs. If that were proved, there would then be a strong presumption that the retributive providence of God had taken that Society in the very snare they laid for Portugal; for when, three years after the earthquake, the Jesuits were expelled, the Inquisition took a very active part in their expulsion. From the press of the Holy Office in Lisbon, Dom Jozé, Inquisitor-General, issued a mandate, condemnatory of "the wicked and seditious errors of the Jesuits." Their doctrine, he stated, was comprehended in three principles, each leading to the most fatal consequences. They were these:—

"1. That it is lawful to calumniate any person whatever, to bring false witnesses against him, to lay crimes falsely to

his charge, either in public writing or by word of mouth, in order to take vengeance for injuries received, or for the calumniator to defend his own innocence and honour.

“2. That it is lawful for any one to kill, of his own authority, the person who has grievously injured or slandered him: that it is lawful to kill a false accuser or false witness, and even the judge who gives reason to fear any grave damage on his part, if that damage be unjust and inevitable, and there be no other way of avoiding it.

“3. That it is no sin to lie, or to swear falsely, making use of ambiguities, equivocations, or mental reservations, if this be necessary to save one’s life, honour, or property, from considerable damage.” \*

And wherein do these principles differ from those of Eymeric and Peña? The *first* is the very soul of inquisitorial practice. The *second* is exemplified in all the history of the Holy Office. The *third* is almost an exact summary of the instructions given to Inquisitors for extorting false evidence, and taking the life of the innocent. But that mattered not. An Inquisitor was a very fit person to catch a Jesuit; and therefore, when the Jesuits were to be caught, and sent away for their crimes, the Inquisitors, as best acquainted with their arts, were employed to render assistance in the service.

A signal instance of political vengeance, executed by means of the Inquisition, occurred in the case of an aged Jesuit, *Gabriel Malagrida*, who had been imprisoned on a charge of treason, and remained in custody after the expulsion of his brethren. I shall describe this case briefly, almost in the language of Da Sylva, which the reader will be pleased to observe, and take the epithets as his, not mine.

This monster, Saint Gabriel Malagrida, employed himself, while in prison, in writing, with his own hand, two abominable books, which brought him to the tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, to which it belonged to examine all propositions contrary to faith and to religion. After a searching examination of his books and of himself, the

\* *Recueil des Decrets Apostoliques et des Ordonnances du Roi de Portugal concernant la Conduite des Jesuites dans le Paraguai, &c.* Amsterdam, 1761. Piece xxvii.

guardians of the faith convicted Malagrida of having persuaded people to regard him as a saint and true prophet. They found that, not content with deceiving the people of that kingdom with his honey of hypocrisy, he had scattered abroad the most fearful poison, of which his heart was full, to foment discords and seditions, and to prophesy evil; at the same time contriving plots for the fulfilment of his own predictions. He furthermore wrote a book, and even at the table of the Holy Office persisted in defending it; affirming that its contents were dictated by God our Lord, by the most holy Mary our Lady, and by saints and angels of heaven, who conversed with him. The titles of two books, exhibited on that occasion, were such as would have gained him great admiration, if he had written on behalf of the priesthood. One was called, "The heroic and admirable Life of the Glorious Saint Anna, Mother of the Most Holy Mary, dictated by the Saint herself, with the Assistance, Approbation, and Presence of the Most Sovereign Lady herself, and her Most Holy Son." This was in Portuguese. The other, in Latin, was "A Treatise on the Life and Empire of Antichrist."

Even allowing for the exaggeration and perversion of the sayings of a culprit, which are usual in the hall of an Inquisition, it seems evident that this man was either insane, or he pretended insanity. Instead of answering their questions, he amazed his judges by a long recitation of audible revelations, and tales of supernatural visions. The Virgin Mary, he said, absolved him daily in a particular form of words, and empowered him to predict the death of the King within two months, and to denounce heavy calamities on the nation.

In presence of the foreign ministers at the Court of Lisbon, all the high functionaries of State, and the nobility of the kingdom, he was declared an impenitent heretic, expelled from the Church, and delivered over to the King's officers of justice to be punished. He was forthwith burnt to death, on the 21st day of September, 1761;\* and thus the Inquisition triumphed over the Jesuits.

\* Da Sylva. Parte i., divis. 15.

The Inquisition of Portugal continued, and survived the revolutionary period of the latter years of the last century, and the first fourteen years of the present; but it fell in 1821, amidst the renewed struggles for civil liberty on the Peninsula. The letter of the Portuguese Constitution, then framed, seemed to promise religious liberty also, guaranteeing freedom of worship to foreigners, and, by fair construction, leaving the Portuguese free to accept the Gospel of their own accord; but little advantage was taken of that liberty. In Madeira, however, an active persecution of Dr. Kalley, and of the natives converted by his means, demonstrated that, although the external form of the Inquisition had fallen, the spirit thereof survived; and it soon became evident, both in Spain and Portugal, that if both its form and its name were not soon restored, it would not be for want of inclination in the Church of Rome.

Accordingly, an opportunity occurred in due time. The Portuguese lawyers were employed to construct a new penal code; and a royal decree of December 22d, 1852, established that code in anticipation of the legislature. The code of 1852 advanced nothing on the charter of 1826. It fills a thick octavo volume, and the following is a literal translation of two articles on religious offences:—

“Art. 130. He who fails in respect to the religion of this kingdom—the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic—shall be condemned to *imprisonment from one to three years*, with a *fine* proportioned to his income, in every one of the following cases:—

“1. Injuring (or insulting) the said religion publicly, in any dogma, act, or object of its worship, by deeds, or words, or publications, in any form.

“2. Attempting, by the same means, to propagate doctrines contrary to the Catholic dogmas confirmed by the Church.

“3. Attempting, by any means, to make proselytes or conversions to a different religion, or sect, *condemned by the Church.*” (As all Christian denominations are.)

“4. Celebrating public acts of worship, other than the worship of the said Catholic religion.

“Art. 135. Every Portuguese who, professing the religion

of the kingdom, shall fail in respect to the same religion, by apostatizing, or renouncing it publicly, shall be *condemned to the loss of his political rights.*

“1. If the criminal be a clerk in holy orders, he shall be banished out of the kingdom for ever.

“2. These penalties shall cease as soon as the criminals return to the bosom of the Church.

“If the guilty person, under Article 130, be a foreigner,” (an Englishman, for example, to whom a very recent treaty between the Queen of Great Britain and the Queen of Portugal guarantees perfect liberty of worship,) “*the punishment, instead of fine and imprisonment, shall be expulsion from the kingdom.*” For the administration of these Articles, ecclesiastical courts are provided, in pursuance of a Concordat between the Pope and the Queen of Portugal.

These ecclesiastical courts were meant to be equivalent with the Tribunals of the Faith in Spain; but in all the Peninsula the imperfect substitutions are nearly powerless, and are likely soon to be extinct.



## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## INDIA: PERSECUTION OF NESTORIANS.

HEROIC perseverance in the pursuit of a great object is nowhere exhibited more brilliantly than in the history of the first Indian missions of the Jesuits. This, however, is not the place to characterize, much less to describe, the labours of the Propaganda. Our present business is to trace the introduction of the Inquisition into India, and its progress there.

Many English Protestants, in their exuberant charity, would scarcely believe that the earliest recorded indications of an Inquisition in India are from the pen of the saintly Xavier, a man who has been most unreasonably held up as a model for the imitation of our Missionaries.

Bouhours, the French biographer of Xavier, relates that on December 16th, 1544, he met with a priest, Miguel Vaz, Vicar-General of the Indies, in Cochin. To him he suggested, and with him concerted, a plot for displacing Affonso de Sousa, the Viceroy, who would not support his enterprises with armed force to the extent that he desired. The Vicar-General embarked forthwith for Lisbon, bearing a long and earnest secret letter from "the Saint" to John III. of Portugal, imploring him to recall De Sousa, his own friend and patron, and the following extract probably contains the first formal request for "the horrible tribunal." Mark it well:—

"O my Lord, by your burning zeal for the Divine glory, by the care you have of rendering to God an account of your conduct and of keeping your conscience clear, I beseech and conjure Your Majesty to send out a suitable servant, *armed with necessary authority, whose only care it shall be to see to*

*the salvation of the innumerable souls that are here perishing ; and who in that post shall have a power unlimited by the authority and government of those whom you command to oversee your revenue and your affairs ; that thus, for the future, those many and grave inconveniences and scandals may be avoided, from which formerly the affairs of religion here were free."* \*

Afonso de Sousa himself says that Francisco Xavier, in a letter to John III. of Portugal, dated November 10th, 1545, stated that "Jewish perfidy was daily spreading in those countries of Eastern India that were subject to Portugal, and earnestly prayed the King to send the office of the Inquisition into that country, as the remedy of so great a perfidy." This was following up the previous application. His Majesty, however, did not comply with the request, nor was it carried into effect until fifteen years later, when, as Sousa further states, the Cardinal Henry, at that time Inquisitor-General in the kingdom of Portugal, erected a tribunal of the Inquisition in Goa, and sent thither the necessary Inquisitors, officers, and servants. The first Inquisitor was Alexo Diaz Fulcano, sent over from Lisbon in 1560. But it is not likely that the establishment of such an institution in India would have taken place on the suggestion or the request of any one person ; and we cannot better give an exact view of its origin and progress, than by marking events as they occurred.

First : there was a bishopric at Goa, established there, as was usual in all new colonies, when that part of the coast fell into possession of the Portuguese in 1510.

Then followed an application of all the accustomed methods of conversion, under the terror of a strong garrison. Favours and honours were lavished upon the first converts ; while the Viceroy and highest functionaries stood sponsors for proselytes at baptism.

The accession of proselytes along the eastern coast of India, more particularly, and some consolidation of military and civil power, indicated that the time was come for an enlargement of the ecclesiastical platform ; but there was

\* This letter may be found in Turselin's "*Sancti Francisci Xaverii Epistolarum Libri Quatuor.*" Lugduni, 1682.

still some delay, until more vigorous measures could be taken to sustain a complete hierarchy. The conversion of Gentile Malays was therefore the object chiefly pursued for some years. Adults were persuaded, or intimidated; but children were stolen, baptized, brought up in the Jesuits' houses, and in due time employed to bring in fresh recruits. They were often paraded through the streets, singing catechism; and every child that could be decoyed to join the processions was taken up by the Jesuits and baptized. A great number of these forcible baptisms were effected in the year 1557, in spite of the resistance of their parents.\*

The flock being multiplied, and somewhat disciplined into subjection, the Bishop of Goa was promoted to be Metropolitan; and two new Bishops were sent out to take possession of the dioceses of Malacca and Cochin, created for them in advance. This was done in 1559. And as the introduction of a new Romish hierarchy into any country is sure to be followed by correspondent manifestations of authority, the very next year that establishment was followed by the introduction of the "Holy Inquisition."

The Inquisitors were already there, preparing and waiting for favourable opportunities to act. Melchior Carneiro, Bishop-designate of Cochin, was in the mountains of Malabar, on a mission to the Nestorian Christians.

Those Christians had been for many centuries in communion with the see of Babylon, or Mosul, and traced a succession of bishops back to the apostolic age. They were not clear of some corruptions that had overspread Christendom, but had none of the characteristics of Popery; and although reproached on account of the heresy of Nestorius, whose followers certainly did not entertain a sufficiently exalted view of the person of the incarnate Saviour, they had received from Nestorius a doctrine, in other particulars, far superior to that of Rome. Their clergy were married; they knew of but two sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist; they did not pray to saints, nor worship images; they knew nothing of auricular confession; they had not heard of purgatory or

\* "*Parentibus quanquam invitis ac renitentibus.*" (*Acosta Hist. Rerum in Oriente gestarum. Parisiis, 1572. Fol. 14.*)

transubstantiation. They only acknowledged two sacred orders, Presbyterate\* and Diaconate; although a member of the former had always taken the oversight of his brethren within a diocese, and borne the title of Vicar.† These Vicars were associated under a Metropolitan, whom they represented, and who acknowledged the superior authority of the Patriarch of Babylon. In their worship, they had used ancient Syriac Liturgies. Of Pope and mass they had not heard until after the Portuguese invasion of their country; and, to express their abhorrence of idolatry, they shut their eyes when an image or a consecrated wafer was produced.

*Carneiro*, one of the Romish bishops, signalized himself by making an assault on that communion. He took possession of one of their churches, and kept possession of it for two months under Portuguese authority. With extreme difficulty he collected hearers, and that only by making the most of his position and his means. The people generally fled from him; but he succeeded in performing a ceremony of anabaptism on a few, telling them that the baptism they had received in the Syrian Church was no sacrament; and he bound his proselytes to *swear submission* to the Pope of Rome. The Indian Metropolitan concealed himself among the fugitives of his flock, wisely refusing to go down to the coast to hold a disputation with *Carneiro*. *Carneiro*, bent on his destruction, pursued him into a neighbouring kingdom, and strove to induce the King, or Chief, to put him to death, as a propagator of error and a disturber of peace. In this he failed; but notwithstanding the provocation he had given to the native Christians, he returned to Cochin without suffering the least violence. But in Cochin, if his own report be true, an arrow struck off his hat; and a note, supposed to be written by some native Christian, and containing expressions of disrespect concern-

\* The Syriac name קַשְׁיָוְרָא—*presbyterate*, not *sacerdotate*, or sacrificing priesthood—agrees well with the style of the New Testament.

† Here is a question of a word. Dr. Buchanan so understood, and so reported; but the Arabic and Syriac authorities quoted by Asseman (*Bibl. Oriental.*, tom. iii. pars 2) do not confirm this report, but give the title of Bishop, and, what is much more, minutely describe the *office*. The title is commonly used, and could not be relinquished without a disregard of original authorities.

ing Gonsalvo, chief of the Jesuits at Goa, with blasphemies against our Lord Jesus Christ, was found in a charity-box in the principal church. That any Syrian Christian who could write should at the same time blaspheme the Saviour whom he acknowledged and worshipped, and speak disrespectfully of the Jesuits whom he hated, is not very probable; but such a note was exhibited by the priests, to show that while the arrow gave reason to suspect a murderous intention, the paper bore evidence of heresy. Carneiro or Gonsalvo may have written it.

"That thing," says Sacchini, "admonished the fathers that they should see more diligent inquest made concerning the faith of certain men. And behold! a vast number of false brethren of the circumcision are discovered. These men, fugitives from various regions of the world, had found means of concealment in India, and, while bearing the name of Christians, secretly practised the rites of Judaism, and propagated the same by stealth." Perhaps the truth may be that some New Christians, having fled from Europe on account of persecution, were endeavouring to get rid of the spurious Christianity which had been forced upon them in Europe. It is not incredible that they would be sometimes overtaken in uniting with the natives to resist the oppression of the Portuguese governors, or to counteract the schemes of the Jesuits. Be that as it may, they not only suffered the persecution which ordinarily fell upon their brethren in every land, but they also served as the cover for an attack upon the native Christians. "Therefore," according to Sacchini, "if ever the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition was necessary, the fathers (Jesuits) considered that it was necessary at that time in India, both because of the licentiousness prevalent, and the medley of all nations and superstitions; and therefore sent urgent letters both to Portugal and Italy, and made representations to those in the country to whom pertained such care, which clearly demonstrated that, in order to preserve that fortress in faith incorrupt, it should be established in Goa."\* And a very short time afterwards, in the year 1560, it began its operations there.

\* Sacchini, *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, pars secunda, lib. i., pp. 150, 151.

There can be no doubt that the first proceedings were sufficiently terrific. The "vast number of false brethren" that were detected, or of others that were taken for such, did not go unpunished. The Inquisitors of Goa would not be less active than their brethren in Portugal, and their victims would be so much the more easily disposed of, as no way of appeal to Rome ordinarily lay open to them. From slaughtering the Jewish Christians the "sacred searchers of the faith" proceeded to their work of overthrowing the ancient Syrian Church. Seven years after the erection of the tribunal in Goa, Mar Joseph, Syrian Bishop of Cochin, in consequence of a rescript from Pius V. to Cardinal Henry of Portugal, authorizing the Inquisition to prosecute him, stood at its table, was declared guilty of the Nestorian heresy, sent prisoner to Lisbon, and thence, in the year following, to Rome, where he died quickly. Burnings were common at that time. General baptisms were celebrated with great pomp at Goa, the ecclesiastical metropolis of India, and so were general Acts of Faith. It was deemed an equal mark of affection towards the Jesuits in all that attended either. One Sebastian Fernando, writing to his General at Rome, (November, 1569,) applauds the charity of his brethren, who attended persons condemned by the sacred Inquisitors on account of depraved religion, not quitting them from the moment of sentence until the flames rose round them at the stake.\* Then, of course, they decorously withdrew. Such Nestorians as would not go to mass, and keep their eyes open at the elevation, or who showed any disaffection to Rome, were burnt for the edification of the public of India.

Bishops and priests continually disappeared, either immured in Goa, or shipped away to Italy or Portugal. Now and then a name transpired. *Simeon*, a bishop in the Church at Malabar, was seized, sent to Rome, and graciously permitted to breathe within the walls of a convent of Friars Minors, in Portugal, where, in the year 1559, *he perished*,—*PERIIT*.† For with this significant word a learned monk closed his brief notice of Simeon. From another source‡ we hear that

\* *De Rebus Indicis Epist. Liber.* Parisiis, 1572.

† *Asseman. Dissert. de Syriis Nestorianis*, p. 447.

‡ *La Croze, His. du Christ. des Indes*, livre i.

Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, gained possession of an intercepted letter of his, containing Nestorian errors; that he sent the letter to the chief Inquisitor in Lisbon; that from that time no more is heard of Mar Simeon; and that it may therefore be presumed he was conveyed to the prison of the Inquisition; and then, as one relapsed into heresy, he would be given over to the secular arm, or would perish in secret.

The same Archbishop, Aleixo de Menezes, held a Diocesan Synod at Diamper, in Cochin, on the 20th of June, 1599, and six days following. In that Synod a large number of Syrian priests were present, not by free choice, but by the pressure of Portuguese influence; and were induced, although in the territory of a pagan sovereign, to subscribe the following extraordinary decree, previously written, with all the others, by himself and a Jesuit, in Portuguese, for signature by those poor Malays:—"All the priests and faithful people of this bishopric, in Synod assembled, submit themselves, with much respect and obedience, to the holy, righteous, just, and necessary tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in these parts, acknowledging how the said tribunal contributes to the purity of the faith. They swear and promise obedience to its commands. They desire to be judged according to its laws in matters of faith; and they beseech the Inquisitors to appoint in their place, on account of the distance," (the distance of Goa from the diocese of Cochin,) "the reverend Jesuit fathers of the college of Vaipicota, or some other learned persons from the number of those who reside in this diocese."\*

All the history of Romanism in this part of India contradicts the statements of this Act. The few priests who were persuaded to join the Church of Rome did so with reluctance, and not without reservation; and the majority both of clergy and laity regarded the usurpers with abhorrence. Above all things, the Inquisition was hateful to them; and when the books containing the ancient Syriac Liturgies were burnt, and the use of those Liturgies forbidden, under peril of excommunication, which was equivalent with death, they conceived a profound indignation, which every successive provocation deepened, until they desperately broke off the yoke.

\* Sess. iii., act 22.

The bitterness of Roman orthodoxy was not concealed in a profession of faith drawn up under the authority of Clement VIII. for subscription by the Orientals who came into the unity of the Roman Church.\* The convert was required to sign his name twice; once to the Creed, and once again to a promise to maintain it. He was made to reprobate and curse utterly all heretics, and all who believed or taught heretically. They compelled him to declare that no man dying outside the Church of Rome could be a partaker of eternal life, and to promise that he would enforce the same faith on all persons under his authority. Going far beyond the limits of even Roman orthodoxy as then established, the Creed for Orientals anticipated the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, now lately published, (in 1854,) and pronounced that our Lord became incarnate "*in the immaculate womb of the most Blessed Mary, ever virgin.*" And, as if Clement VIII. had resolved to distinguish his pontificate by some record of complete impiety, the convert was required to abjure *the Sabbath*, together with circumcision and the distinction of meats; a contrivance doubtless intended to provide the Inquisitors in India, as in Spain, with occasions for testing the religion of persons suspected to be of Jewish extraction. Moreover, by annihilating the Sabbath in India, and not noticing the Lord's Day, those keepers of the faith no doubt calculated that they should succeed in diverting from those lands the religious knowledge, the sanctity, and the blessedness that always distinguish Sabbath-keeping nations, and constitute a strong barrier against the delusions and vices of Romanism.

Long did those Christians refuse obedience to the Roman Pontiff, but they were lashed into submission; and, after a wearisome and humiliating negotiation, a Synod being convened at Amida, a sort of union was effected. Once, during the correspondence, their Patriarch Elijah ventured to address Paul V. in such words as these: "We beseech you to send us good letters, in consideration of our profession" of obedience to the Papal See, "to show on our arrival in

\* *Brevis orthodoxæ fidei professio, quæ ex præscripto Sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ ab Orientalibus ad sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ unitatem venientibus faciendæ proponitur Romæ, 1595.*



India," whither Elijah was going, in the new character of one holding authority from the Pope; "because, in Ormus and in Goa, and beyond, the Inquisitors of the Faith sorely trouble us. For the men of our country are not at all learned; and therefore they trouble us exceedingly, or else take money from us, and then let us go. One priest of Amida has died in consequence of what they have done to him." (A.D. 1616.) But it does not appear that Paul V. condescended to lay any restraint on the Inquisitors, who went on their way, killing some, and ruining others by fines and confiscations, until one too hasty step provoked the people of Malabar to snap their fetters.

It is worth noting that Cardinal Bellarmine, that specious Jesuit whom it was fashionable for courtiers around the throne of our James I. to regard as a paragon of sanctity, and some of whose writings found clerical translators in England, was the man who acquired merit at Rome by leading the inquisitorial persecution of the Nestorians. One of his biographers \* boasts that it was he who saw and discovered the Patriarch Elijah, of Babylon, (A.D. 1610,) to be a Nestorian, who, masked as a Catholic, sent his profession of faith to Paul V. under malicious terms. It was he, too, who took the part of Farinacci, when his most useful book, *De Hæresi*, was assailed. He spent a month in reviewing it, gave it his approbation, and set it forth improved.

Having failed to obtain any concession from Rome in favour of their Syrian ritual, the Malabar Christians seceded from Francisco García, the Jesuit Archbishop of Cranganore, and applied to the Nestorian Patriarch of Babylon, or the Jacobite at Damascus, for another in his place. One was sent to them named Atahalla; but the Inquisitors seized him in Meliapore, (St. Thomas,) took him to Goa, and there he perished in their hands, after having graced their last forlorn triumph over the Syrian Church by walking in an *Acto-de-Fé*, after which they burnt him in the usual manner. Meetings were held in the diocese of Cochin, and, at length, a Nestorian bishop was ordained in the year 1653.

\* *Vita del R. Card. Bellarmino dal P. Francesco Marazzani*, cap. xi.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### INDIA: THE POPE PROTECTS JESUITS AND BISHOPS.

BETWEEN the Inquisition and the Company of Jesus jealousies arose ever and anon. We have seen how nearly the Jesuits succeeded in overthrowing the Inquisition in Portugal. The conflicts were frequent and stubborn between the barbarism of elder birth, and the refined cunning of the later sect; yet both were devoted to the same object, the defence and extension of the Papacy. The Pope, as common father, was appealed to for the settlement of their differences.

In India and the East these two corporations could the less easily agree, because, while the Jesuits had found it necessary to pursue a policy of extreme concession, the Inquisitors, supported by military force, delighted to exercise an inexorable severity; proud of the power of life and death, which enabled them to impress the natives with dread, and not only the natives, but their own clergy. The Inquisition, therefore, had no reason to appeal to the Holy Father: but the Jesuits, as the suffering party, betook themselves to him for protection against the violence of the Inquisitors; and the result of their application is a Brief of Clement X., addressed to his "dear sons, the Inquisitors of the city of Goa," so perfectly descriptive that, by a verbal translation of it, His Beatitude shall deliver an interesting passage in the history of the Inquisition in India. It is as follows:—

"Dear children, Health in the Lord! As it has reached our ears, not without causing a feeling of profound grief, that the administrators of this Holy See in Eastern parts, sent hence by the same, have been ill received and sorely vexed by the tribunal of the Inquisition and its officials, we

are extremely surprised. For while it is the only function of the most Holy Inquisition to remove all impediments which might hinder the integrity, conservation, and propagation of the faith in the Church of God, it appears to us altogether foreign from the design of this tribunal to do that which your officials, and especially the Commissary of Siam, have perpetrated against the workmen, as aforesaid, of the Holy See, sent by the same into Eastern Asia for the propagation of the Catholic faith.

“For, as has been related to us, they have dared, without any competent authority, to proceed injuriously against our venerable brother Peter, Bishop of Beyrout, honoured with the office of Vicar Apostolic, by compelling him to exhibit his credentials, even after he refused to do so, as being immediately subject to the Holy See, and by declaring him not only a rebel against the most Holy Inquisition, but also a person suspected of unsound faith; and then by commanding all the faithful to abstain from all communication with him. I even hear that they refused to hold any correspondence with him, or with the missionaries, and that they affixed a sentence to this effect to the church-doors, causing great scandal to all Christians, and grave detriment to the Christian faith. In consequence of this, another official of the Inquisition of Goa, resident in those parts, drove from his station a missionary, sent by the Holy See to labour at Cambay. He did this under a pretence of heresy, and commanded the missionary to be transported to the city of Macao; whence, after being ignominiously cast into prison by the Commissary of the same Inquisition, and kept there for five months, he was conveyed to the prisons of the Inquisition in Goa. The same thing had happened to another missionary some time before, to the great injury of Christians who, being deprived of the help of missionaries, are left exposed to the incursions of the devil; and, no man helping them, they were abandoned to the guile of that most hateful enemy.

“And although no one can make us believe that these things were done at the command of that tribunal, we cannot suppose that the whole blame is to be laid on its inferior officers. We cannot suppose that you are yourselves to be altogether excused, seeing that you did not inflict any

punishment on the Commissary at Siam for the injury done to the aforesaid Bishop of Beyrout; nor do we observe that any of the officers of your Inquisition who committed the offence were put out of office.

“Therefore, by virtue of the supreme power over His Church which our Lord Jesus Christ has committed unto us, in order that all hindrances to the propagation of the faith may be henceforth removed, we declare that all vicars apostolic and their missionaries, now sent, or hereafter to be sent, to China, Cochin-China, Tonquin, Siam, Camboya, and other places of the East, are to be altogether free from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition of Goa in those regions which are not under the temporal government of the King of Portugal. And we command you with apostolic authority that you entirely abstain from exercising against them any such acts, either by yourselves or by your inferior officers, under whatever pretext, colour, or privilege. Otherwise you will place yourselves in opposition to the will of this Holy See, with great discredit of your filial observance towards the same. Considering, however, your singular piety, we hold it for certain that no such thing can come to pass. To you, meanwhile, dear children, we paternally and freely impart the apostolic blessing.

“Given at Rome, at St. Mary’s the Greater, under the seal of the Fisherman, on the tenth day of November, 1678, in the fourth year of our pontificate.”

Gentle as the language of this document may sound, it betrays great displeasure; and it is easy to conceive how intense the anger of the Roman Jesuits must have been on finding that their brethren, both in Europe and the East, were subjected to inquisitorial jurisdiction, and made to suffer the indignities of imprisonment and inquest. The Jesuit Vieyra, whom we saw imprisoned in Coimbra, and who made his way to Rome, is still at that Court, moving every spring whereby he can hope to humble the Inquisition. To Vieyra, also, the Pope grants a Bull of exemption, for life, from the authority of the Inquisition of Portugal, and reserves him to be under his own peculiar care. The tribunal of Goa was almost regarded as a branch of that of Portugal, inasmuch as the territory was now Portuguese, and the

Inquisitors were all sent out at the expense of that country ; and was kept under the immediate protection of the King.

Under the same date, another Brief was executed for the Archbishop of Goa ; or, in case of the see being found vacant, for the members of the chapter ; reciting in general the same facts, and adding, as regarded the Archbishop, that he had forbidden all Christians to hold any communication with the Bishop of Beyrout, under a penalty of two hundred pieces of money, and under peril of excommunication also. So shattered was Catholic unity ! So cold was apostolic charity in that branch of the Church of Rome ! Twelve days after Clement issued a third document,—a constitution to be observed in Rome by all whom it might concern,—bringing the missionaries under the sole authority of the Roman See.

This was as much as the antagonists of the Inquisitors could wish ; for whatever may have been the outrages of the Inquisition in India, they would not on any account have it suppressed. Far from that, it was comforted with apostolic benediction, bidden indeed to keep hands off the vicars apostolic and the missionaries, but left quite free to wash them daily in the blood of Nestorians, New Christians, and any Protestants who might stray into those regions. As for the Jesuits, every man of them had taught heresy enough, and that a thousand times over, for him to be sent home in irons, and burnt at Lisbon in a slow fire. The Court of Rome well knew that they were not preaching in China anything like what Rome or any Church in Christendom would allow to be called Christianity ; and the Sacred Congregation of the supreme and universal Roman Inquisition had but lately issued its last sentence in very feeble condemnation of the missionaries. They also knew full well that the only effect of their decision was, or would be,—just as much as they had intended,—to quiet the clamours of the Franciscans at home, and, for the moment perhaps, to shut the mouths of Protestants. Still those Jesuit missionaries taught their Chinese proselytes to adore Confucius ; to burn perfumes before the tablets of their ancestors, in sign of worship ; to join in idolatrous festivities and other practices ; to throw a veil of concealment over the story of the Saviour's crucifixion ;

never, therefore, to let a crucifix be seen, lest the heathen should object to the scandal of the cross, and lest the so-called Christians should take offence if they heard the very foundation-truth of the Gospel, and renounce Christianity openly, or at least lose the grace of baptism.

Who then could say that the Propaganda was jealous for the faith; or that the Inquisition cared at all for the faith; or the sacred College of Cardinals had any true zeal for the propagation of the faith? In this case the position of affairs was quite intelligible. The Chinese Emperor, Kang-he, had proclaimed freedom of worship for his subjects, provided they performed their ceremonies according to the teaching of his former preceptor, John Adam Schall, who elaborated a form of religion scarcely distinguishable from his own; and the missionaries were to be exempted from the meddling of the Inquisition, which, if it acted at all, could not help treating those mandarin clergymen as paganizing heretics, which indeed they were. However, all this was quite consistent with Roman policy, which was to exalt the Roman See at any cost, and not allow even Romish faith to stand for one moment in the way. There was a Latin father who said beautifully of the true Catholic faith, "*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus;*" and the like we may say of Roman politicians, in a lower sense, and within a smaller circle,—*What always was, what you find everywhere, what they all do.*

## CHAPTER XXX.

## INDIA: THE INQUISITION OF GOA.

WE have read that Atahalla, the Nestorian vicar, or bishop, perished in the den at Goa, none tells how. About thirty years after him, *M. Dellon*, a French traveller, was thrown into that prison; and, by a rare interposition of Providence, lived to relate what he had witnessed, and what he suffered.

While spending some time at Damaun, on the north-western coast of Hindostan, *M. Dellon* incurred the jealousy of the Governor; and also of a black priest, on account of a lady, as he is pleased to call her, whom they both admired. He had expressed himself rather freely concerning some of the grosser superstitions of Romanism, and thus afforded the priest, who had the honour to be secretary of the Inquisition for that place, an occasion of proceeding against him for heresy. The priest and the Governor united in a representation to the Chief Inquisitor at Goa, which brought an order for him to be arrested. Like all other persons whom it pleased the Inquisitors or their servants to arrest in any part of the Portuguese dominions beyond the Cape of Good Hope, he was at first thrown into a common prison, with a promiscuous crowd of delinquents, the place and the treatment being of the worst kind, even according to the colonial barbarism of the seventeenth century. In that common prison there was the most complete impartiality. All fared alike, and many prisoners perished from starvation and disease. Many offenders against the Inquisition were there at the time, some accused of Judaism, others of Paganism, in which sorcery and witchcraft—under a most accurately scientific classification—were included, and

others of immorality. In a field so wide and so fruitful the scrutators of the faith could not fail to gather abundantly.

After an incarceration of at least four months, M. Dellon and his fellow-heretics were shipped off for the metropolis of Portuguese India, all of them being in irons. The vessel put in at Bacaim, and the prisoners were transferred, for some days, to the prison of that town, where a large number of persons were kept in custody, under charge of a commissary of the Holy Office, waiting for a vessel to take them to Goa. In due time they were again at sea, and a fair wind wafted their fleet into that port after a voyage of seven days. Until they could be deposited in the cells of the Inquisition, the Archbishop of Goa obligingly threw open *his* prison for their reception ; which prison, being ecclesiastical, may be deemed worthy of description. "The most filthy," says Dellon, "the most dark, and the most horrible of all that I ever saw ; and I doubt whether a more shocking and horrible prison can anywhere be found. It is a kind of cave, wherein there is no day seen but by a very little hole. The most subtle rays of the sun cannot enter into it, and there is never any true light in it. The stench is extreme....." The Archbishop must have had this prison to keep his parishioners in order.

On the 16th of January, 1674, at eight o'clock in the morning, an officer came with orders to take the prisoners to "the Holy House." With considerable difficulty M. Dellon dragged his iron-loaded limbs thither. The officers helped him to mount the steps at the great entrance, and, in the great hall, smiths were waiting to take off the irons from all the prisoners. One by one they were summoned to audience. Dellon, who was called the last, crossed the hall, passed through an antechamber, and entered a room called by the Portuguese "Board of the Holy Office," where the Grand Inquisitor of the Indies sat at one end of a very large table, on an elevated floor in the middle of the chamber. He was a secular priest, about forty years of age, in full vigour ; a man that could do his work with energy. At one end of the room was a large crucifix, reaching from the floor almost to the ceiling ; and at one end of the table, near the crucifix, sat a notary on a folding stool.



At the opposite end, and near the Inquisitor, Dellon was placed, and, hoping to soften his judge, fell on his knees before him. But the Inquisitor commanded him to rise, asked whether he knew the reason of his arrest, and advised him to declare it at large, as that was the only way to obtain a speedy release. Dellon caught at the hope of release, began to tell his tale, mixed tears with protestations, again fell at the feet of Don Francisco Delgado Ematos, the Inquisitor, and implored his favourable attention. Don Francisco told him, very coldly, that he had other business on hand, and, nothing moved, rang a silver bell. The Alcayde entered, led out the prisoner into a gallery, opened and searched his trunk, stripped him of every valuable, wrote an inventory, assured him that all should be safely kept, and then led him into a cell about ten feet square, and shut him up there in utter solitude. In the evening they brought him his first meal, which he ate heartily, and slept a little during the night following. Next morning he learnt that he could have no part of his property. Not even was a priest allowed his Breviary there; for in that place they had no form of religion, and for that reason he could not have a book. His hair was cropped close, and therefore he "did not need a comb."

Thus began his acquaintance with the Holy House, which he describes as "great and magnificent," on one side of the great space before the church of St. Catherine. There were three gates in front, and it was by the central, or largest, that the prisoners had entered, and ascended a stately flight of steps, leading into the great hall. The side-gates provided entrance to spacious ranges of apartments, belonging to the Inquisitors. Behind the principal building was another, very spacious, two stories high, and consisting of double rows of cells, opening into galleries that ran from end to end. The cells on the ground-floor were very small, perhaps from the greater thickness of the walls, without any aperture from without for light or air. Those of the upper story were vaulted, whitewashed; each had a small, strongly-grated window, without glass, and higher than the tallest man could reach. Towards the gallery, every cell was shut with two doors, the one on the inside, and the other on the

outside, of the wall. The inner door folded, was grated at the bottom, open towards the top for the admission of food, and made fast with very strong bolts. The outer door was not so thick, and had no window, but was left open from six every morning until eleven; an arrangement necessary in that climate, unless it were intended to destroy life by suffocation.

To each prisoner was given an earthen pot, with water wherewith to wash; another, full of water to drink; with a cup, a broom, a mat whereon to lie; a large bason for necessary use, changed every fourth day, and another vessel to cover it, and receive offals. The prisoners had three meals a day; and their health, so far as food could contribute to it in such a place, was cared for in the provision of a wholesome, but spare, diet. Physicians were at hand to render all necessary assistance to the sick, as were confessors ready to wait upon the dying; but they gave no *viaticum*, administered no unction, said no mass. The place was under an absolute interdict. If any died,—and that many did die is beyond question,—his death was unknown to all without. He was buried within the walls, without any sacred ceremony; and if, after death, it was pronounced that he died in heresy, his bones were taken up to be burned at the next *Acto*. Unless there happened to be an unusual number of prisoners, each one was alone in his own cell. He might not speak, nor groan, nor sob aloud, nor sigh. His breathing might be audible when the warder listened at the grating, but nothing more. Four warders were stationed in each long gallery. The gallery was open, indeed, at each end, but awfully silent, as if it were the passage of a catacomb. If one of the victims, in despair, or pain, or delirium, uttered a cry, or dared to pronounce a prayer even to God, the jailors would run to the cell, rush in, and beat him cruelly, to inspire terror in the rest.

Once in two months the Inquisitor, with a secretary and an interpreter, visited the prisons, and asked each prisoner if he wanted anything, if his meat was regularly brought, and if he had any complaint against the jailors. His want, after all, lay at the mercy of the merciless. The utterance of his complaint would bring down vengeance, rather than gain

redress. But in this visitation the Holy Office professed mercy with much formality, while the inquisitorial secretary collected notes which aided in the crimination, or in the murder, of their victims.

The officers at Goa were, the *Inquisidor Mor*, or Grand Inquisitor, who was always a secular priest; the second Inquisitor, who was at that time a Dominican friar; several deputies, who came when called for, to assist the Inquisitors at trials, but never came without such a summons; qualifiers, as usual, to examine books and writings, but never to witness an examination of the living, nor be present at any act of the kind; a fiscal; a procurator; advocates, so called, for the accused; notaries and familiars. Of these officers enough has been said in preceding chapters. The authority of this tribunal was absolute in Goa, as it would be in Portugal, except that the Archbishop and his Grand Vicar, the Viceroy, and the Governors, could not be arrested without authority obtained, or sent, from the Supreme Council in Lisbon. There does not appear to have been anything peculiar in the manner of examining and torturing at Goa, where the practice coincided with that of Portugal and Spain, as described in Chapters V. and VI. of the present work, and the Appendix.

The personal narrative of M. Dellon affords a distinct exemplification of the sufferings of prisoners. He had been told that when he desired an audience, he had only to call a jailor, and ask it, and it would be allowed him. But, notwithstanding many entreaties and tears, he could not obtain one until fifteen days had passed away. Then came the Alcayde, and one of his warders. The Alcayde walked first out of the cell. Dellon, uncovered and shorn, and with legs and feet bare, followed him; the warder walking behind. The Alcayde just entered the place of audience, made a profound reverence, stepped back, and allowed his prisoner to enter. The door closed, and Dellon remained alone with the Inquisitor and secretary. He knelt, but Don Fernando sternly bade him sit on a bench, placed there for the use of culprits. Near him, on the table, lay a Missal, on which they made him lay his hand, and swear to keep secrecy, and to tell them the truth. They asked if he knew the cause of his imprisonment, and whether he was resolved to confess it. He told them all that he

could recollect of unguarded sayings at Damaun, either in argument or conversation, without ever, that he knew, contradicting any article of faith directly or indirectly. He had at some time dropped an offensive word concerning the Inquisition, but so light a word that it did not occur to his remembrance. Don Fernando told him that he had done well in *accusing himself* so willingly; exhorted him, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to complete his self-accusation fully, to the end that he might experience the goodness and mercy which were used in that Tribunal towards those who showed true repentance by a sincere and *unforced* confession. The secretary read aloud the confession and the exhortation. Dellon signed it. Don Fernando rang the silver bell. The Alcayde walked in. In a few moments the prisoner was again shut up in his dungeon.

At the end of another fortnight, and without having asked for it, he was again taken to audience. After a repetition of the former questions, he was asked his name, surname, parentage, baptism, confirmation, place of abode; in whose parish? in what diocese? under what bishop? They made him kneel down, make the sign of the cross, repeat the Paternoster, Hail Mary, Creed, commandments of God, commandments of the Church, and *Salve Regina*. He did it all cleverly, and even to their satisfaction; but the Inquisitor exhorted him, by the tender mercies of our Lord Jesus Christ, to confess more without delay, and sent him to the cell again.

His heart sickened. They had required him to do what was impossible; to confess *more*, after he had acknowledged *all*. In despair, he tried to starve himself to death; but they compelled him to take food. Day and night he wept. At length he betook himself to prayer, imploring pity of "the blessed Virgin," whom he imagined to be, of all beings, the most merciful, and the most ready to give him help. At the end of a month he succeeded in getting another audience, and added to his former confessions what he had now remembered, for the first time, touching the Inquisition. But they told him that that was not what they wanted, and sent him back again.

This was intolerable. In a frenzy of despair he deter-

mined to commit suicide, if possible. Feigning sickness, he had a physician, who treated him for fever, and ordered him to be bled. Never calmed by any treatment of the physician, blood-letting was repeated often, and each time he untied the bandage when left alone, hoping to die from loss of blood; but death fled from him. A humane Franciscan came to confess him, and, hearing his tale of misery, gave him kind words, asked permission to divulge his attempt at self-destruction to the Inquisitor, procured him a mitigation of solitude by the presence of a fellow-prisoner, a Negro accused of magic; but after five months the Negro was removed, and his mind, broken with suffering, could no more bear up under the aggravated load. By an effort of desperate ingenuity, he almost succeeded in committing suicide, and a jailor found him weltering in his blood, and insensible. Having restored him by cordials, and bound up the wounds he had inflicted on himself, they carried him into the presence of the Inquisitor once more, where he lay on the floor, being unable to sit. They gave him bitter reproaches, ordered his limbs to be confined in irons, and sent him back to a punishment more terrible than death. In fetters he became so furious that they found it necessary to take them off; and from that time his examination assumed another character, as he defended his positions with citations from the Council of Trent, and with some passages of Scripture, which he explained in the most Romish sense, and discovered a depth of ignorance in the Inquisitor, Don Fernando, that was truly surprising. That person had never heard the passage which Dellon quoted to prove the doctrine of baptismal regeneration: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Neither did he know anything of that famous passage in the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent, which declares that images are only to be revered on account of the persons whom they represent. He called for a Bible, and for the Acts of the Council, and was evidently surprised on finding the passages where Dellon told him they might be seen.

As the time for a general *Acto* drew near, Dellon heard, every morning, the cries of persons under torture; and after-

wards he saw many of them, both men and women, lame and distorted by the rack. On Sunday, January 11th, 1676, he was surprised by the jailor refusing to receive his linen to be washed; Sunday being washing-day in the "Holy House." While perplexing himself to think what this could mean, the cathedral bells rang for vespers, and then, contrary to custom, rang again for matins; and he could only account for that second novelty by supposing that an *Acto* would be celebrated next day. That Sunday evening they brought him supper, which he refused; and, contrary to their wont at all other times, they did not insist on his taking it, but carried it away. Assured that those were all portents of the horrible catastrophe, and reflecting on oft-repeated threats in the audience-chamber that he should be burnt, he gave himself up to death; and, overwhelmed with sorrow, fell asleep about midnight.

He had not been long asleep when the Alcayde and warders entered the cell with great noise, bringing a lamp; the first time since his imprisonment that they had allowed a lamp to shine there. The Alcayde, laying down a suit of clothes, bade him put them on, and be ready to go out when he came again. At two o'clock in the morning they returned, and he issued from the cell, clad in a vest and trousers, black striped with white, and his feet bare.

About two hundred prisoners, of whom he was one, were made to sit on the floor, along the sides of a spacious gallery, all in the same dark livery, and just visible by the gleaming of a few lamps. A large company of women were also ranged in a neighbouring gallery in the same manner. But they were all motionless, and no one knew his doom. Every eye was fixed, and every one seemed benumbed with misery. In a room not very distant, Dellon perceived a third company; but they were walking about, and some appeared to have long habits. Those were persons condemned to be delivered to the secular arm; and the long habits distinguished Confessors busily collecting confessions, in order to commute the penalty of "tasting fire" for that of strangling. At four o'clock servants of the house came, with warders, and gave bread and figs to those who would accept the refreshment. Dellon refused to take it; but the man gave

him some hope of life by advising him to accept what was offered. "Take your bread," said he; "and if you cannot eat it now, put it in your pocket: you will be certainly hungry before you return." From this he inferred that he should not end the day at the stake, but come back to undergo penance.

A little before sunrise the great bell of the cathedral tolled, and at its sound Goa was aroused. The people ran into the streets, soon lining the chief thoroughfares, and crowding every place whence view could be had of the procession. Day broke, and Dellon saw the faces of his fellow-prisoners, most of whom were Indians. He could only, by their complexion, distinguish about twelve Europeans. Every countenance exhibited shame, fear, grief, or an appalling blankness of apathy; as if unutterable suffering in the lightless dungeons beneath had bereft them of intellect. The company soon began to move, but slowly, as the Alcayde led them, one by one, towards the door of the great hall, where sat the Grand Inquisitor; whose secretary called the name of each as he came, and the name of a sponsor, who also presented himself from amongst a crowd of the bettermost inhabitants of Goa, assembled there for that service. "The General of the Portuguese ships in the Indies" had the honour of placing himself beside our Frenchman.

As soon as the procession was formed, it marched off in order. Poor Dellon went barefoot like the rest, through streets made rough with little flint-stones, scattered thickly about; and sorely were his feet wounded, after an hour's marching up and down. Weary, and covered with shame and confusion, this long train of culprits entered the church of St. Francis, where preparation was made for the *Acto*; the climate of India not permitting a celebration of that solemnity under the burning sky.

There they sat, together with their sponsors, in galleries prepared for the occasion. Sambenitos; grey *zamarras*, with painted flames and devils; corozas (or *carrochas*, as the Portuguese call them); tapers, and all the paraphernalia of an *Acto*, made up a woful spectacle. The Grand Inquisitor, the Viceroy, and other personages, having taken their seats of state, the great crucifix being erected on the altar between

massive silver candlesticks, with tapers contrasting their glare with the deadly black of dress and skin, the Provincial of the Augustinians mounted the pulpit, and delivered the sermon. Dellon made but one note of it, where the preacher compared the Inquisition to Noah's ark; which received all sorts of beasts *wild*, but sent them out *tame*. And the appearance of the hundreds who had been inmates of that ark certainly justified the figure.

After sermon, two readers went up, one after another, into the same pulpit,—(surely one person in the same pulpit might anywhere be sufficient,)—and, between them, they read the processes and pronounced the sentences; the person concerned standing before them, with the Alcayde holding a lighted taper in his hand. Dellon, in his turn, heard the cause of his long sufferings. He had maintained the invalidity of *baptismus fluminis*, or desire to be baptized when there is no one to administer the rite of baptism by water. He had said that images ought not to be adored, and he had called an ivory crucifix a piece of ivory. He had spoken contemptuously of the Inquisition; and, above all, he had an ill intention. His punishment was to be confiscation of his property, banishment from India, and five years' service in the galleys in Portugal, with such penance as the Inquisitors might enjoin.

All the prisoners were excommunicate: the Inquisitor, after the sentences had been pronounced, put on his alb and stole, walked into the middle of the church, and absolved them all at once. Dellon's gallant sponsor, who before this moment would not even answer him when he spoke, now embraced him, called him brother, and gave him a pinch of snuff in token of reconciliation. Penance, however, had to follow, the absolution notwithstanding.

There were two persons—a man and a woman—for whom the Church had no more that they could do; and these, with four dead bodies, and the effigies of the dead, were taken to be burnt on the Campo Santo Lazaro, on the river side, the place appointed for that purpose; that the Viceroy might see justice done on heretics, as he surveyed the execution from his palace-windows.

The remainder of Dellon's history adds nothing to what we



have already heard of the customs of the Inquisition. He was taken to Lisbon, and, after working in a gang of convicts for some time, was released on the intercession of some friends in France with the Portuguese Government. With regard to his despair and attempts at suicide when in prison, we may observe that suicide was very frequent there, as he states. The contrast of this disconsolate impatience with the resignation and constancy of Christian confessors in similar circumstances is obvious, and affords valuable exemplification of the difference between those who suffer without any consciousness of Divine favour, and those who can rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of glory.

The friends of M. Dellon were not so active as they might have been in procuring his deliverance; and it does not appear that the French Government made his case a subject of reclamation. But the English in India, even when but occupants of a few factories, showed a better sense of duty, as one instance recorded by a Frenchman, M. Norbert,\* may illustrate.

“A Capuchin missionary, named Father Euphrem, arriving at Madras towards the end of the last (seventeenth) century, on his way to his mission in Pegu, the English requested him to remain in the city. They promised him entire liberty in respect to the Roman religion, which he might exercise, and preach, and minister to the Catholics that were already settled there. He readily consented,” says Norbert, “to such equitable proposals, and formed an establishment, which still exists, under the protection of the English Company.

“This father had pointed out, in a sermon, that there is a great difference between the *worship* that should be rendered to the Sovereign Creator, and the *honour* that we pay to Mary, who is but a creature; and therefore some Portuguese, superstitious as Indians, accused him at the Inquisition of Goa of having preached against the Mother of God. The Jesuits, who are Inquisitors there, managed very adroitly to carry off the missionary, take him to Goa, distant from Madras about two hundred leagues, and, without any

\* *Memoires Historiques, &c., présentés en 1751 au Souverain Pontife Benoit XIV., sur les Missions de la Société de Jésus aux Indes et à la Chine, par le R. P. Norbert.* Tom. iii., p. 56. Londres.

other formality of prosecution, cast him into the depth of a prison. The English, justly shocked at such a proceeding, undertook to break the prisoner's chains. One of their vessels dropped anchor off Goa, and eight or ten determined men, well armed, presented themselves at the gate of the Inquisition, asking to see the interior. Two of them kept guard at the gate, and the others, sword in hand, threatened the Inquisitors that, if they did not instantly give up Father Euphrem, they would run them through. Euphrem was quickly set at liberty. They carried him away to the ship, the sentinels meanwhile keeping the gate; and, as soon as these could follow them on board, the ship hoisted sail, and took back the missionary to Madras."

The Inquisition of Goa continued its *Actos* for a century after the affair of Dellon. The one at which he was present followed an interval of two years, or rather more, but so long an interval was not usual; and an aged Franciscan friar, whom Dr. Buchanan found there, told him that from the year 1770 to 1775 he had witnessed five annual celebrations. In this last year the King of Portugal, in "humanity and tender mercy," as the same friar said, abolished the tribunal. But immediately after his death the power of the priests again gained the ascendant, and the Queen Dowager re-established it in 1779, after a bloodless period of five years; subject, indeed, to certain restrictions, but not in the slightest degree better than before. One apparent improvement was, that a larger number of witnesses was required to convict a criminal. There were to be seven, indeed, in the time of Dellon; but as any one, irrespective of character, might witness against a person accused of heresy, and as it required great courage to refuse to give evidence according to the wish of the Inquisitors, and as the notary made the utmost of every word that might be condemnatory, that trifling change of the rule of the Church concerning inquisitorial examinations availed very little on the side of humanity. Another restriction was "that the *Acto-de-Fé* should not be held publicly, as before; but that the sentences of the tribunal should be executed privately, within the walls of the Inquisition." This only made the Secret perfect, and augmented the power, while it diminished the odium, of the

institution, "in the presence of British dominion and civilization."

In the summer of 1808 Dr. Claudius Buchanan visited Goa, and had been unexpectedly invited by Joseph à Doloribus, second and most active Inquisitor, to lodge with him during his visit. Not without some surprise, Dr. Buchanan found himself—"heretic, schismatic, and rebel" as he was—politely entertained by so dread a personage. Professing to regard his English visitor merely as a literary man,—for of course his Anglican orders were ignored,—Friar Joseph, himself well educated, seemed to enjoy his company, and was unreservedly communicative on every subject not pertaining to his own vocation. When that subject was first introduced by an apparently incidental question, he did not scruple to return the desired information; telling Dr. Buchanan that the establishment was nearly as extensive as in former times. In the library of the Chief Inquisitor he saw a register containing the names of all the officers, who still were numerous.

On the second evening after his arrival, the Doctor was surprised to see his host come into his apartment clad in black robes from head to foot, instead of white, the usual colour of his order, the Augustinian. He said that he was going to sit on the Tribunal of the Holy Office; and it transpired that, so far from his "august office" not occupying much of his time, he sat there three or four days every week. After his return in the evening, the Doctor put Dellon's book into his hand, asking if he had ever seen it. He had never seen it before; and, after reading aloud and slowly, "*Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*," began to peruse it with eagerness. While Dr. Buchanan employed himself in writing, Friar Joseph devoured page after page; but, as the narrative proceeded, betrayed evident symptoms of uneasiness. Then he turned to the middle, looked at the end, skimmed over the table of contents, fixed on principal passages, and at one place exclaimed, in his broad Italian accent, "*Mendacium! Mendacium!*" The Doctor requested him to mark the passages that were untrue, proposed to discuss them afterwards, and said that he had other books on the subject. The mention of *other books* startled him: he

looked anxiously on some books that were on the table, and then gave himself up to the perusal of Dellon's Narrative until bed-time. Even then he asked permission to take it to his chamber.

The Doctor had fallen asleep under the roof of the Inquisitor's house, confident, under God, in the protection at that time guaranteed to a British subject, his servants sleeping in a gallery outside the chamber-door; and, about midnight, he was "waked by loud shrieks and expressions of terror from some one in the gallery." In the first moment of surprise he concluded it must be the alguacils of the Holy Office seizing his servants, to carry them to the Inquisition. But on going out he saw the servants standing at the door, and the person who had caused the alarm, a boy of about fourteen, at a little distance, surrounded by some of the priests, who had come out of their cells on hearing the noise. The boy said he had seen a spectre, and it was a considerable time before the agitations of his body and voice subsided. Next morning, at breakfast, the Inquisitor apologized for the disturbance, and said the boy's alarm proceeded from a *phantasma animi*,—a phantom of the imagination.

It might have been so. Phantoms might well haunt such a place. As to Dellon's book, the Inquisitor acknowledged that the descriptions were correct, but complained that the writer had misjudged the motives of the Inquisitors, and written uncharitably of Holy Church. Their conversation grew earnest: the Inquisitor was anxious to impress his visitor with the idea that the Inquisition had undergone a change in some respects, and that its terrors were mitigated. At length Dr. Buchanan plainly requested to *see* the Inquisition, that he might judge for himself as to the humanity shown to the inmates, according to the Inquisitor; and gave as a reason why he should be satisfied, his interest in the affairs of India, on which he had written, and his purpose to write on them again, in which case he could scarcely be silent concerning the Inquisition. The countenance of his host fell; and, after some further observations, he reluctantly promised to comply with his request.

Next morning, after breakfast, Joseph à Doloribus went to dress for the Holy Office, and soon returned in his black

robes. He said he would go half an hour before the usual time, for the purpose of showing him the Inquisition. The Doctor fancied that he looked more severe than usual, and that his attendants were not so civil as before. But the truth was that the midnight scene still haunted him. They had proceeded in their palanquins to the Holy House, distant about a quarter of a mile; and the Inquisitor said, as they were ascending the steps of the great entrance, that he hoped the Doctor would be satisfied with a passing view of the Inquisition, and would retire when he should desire him to do so. The Doctor followed with "tolerable confidence" towards the great hall aforementioned, where they were met by several well-dressed persons, familiars, as it afterwards appeared, who bowed very low to the Inquisitor, and looked with surprise at the stranger. Dr. Buchanan paced the hall slowly, and in thoughtful silence; the Inquisitor thoughtful too, silent, and embarrassed. The shades of a multitude of victims seemed to haunt the place; and Dr. Buchanan could not refrain from breaking silence. "Would not the Holy Church wish, in her mercy, to have those souls back again, that she might allow them a little further probation?" The Inquisitor answered nothing, but beckoned him to go with him to a door at one end of the hall. By that door he conducted him to some small rooms, and thence to the spacious apartments of the Chief Inquisitor. Having surveyed these, he brought him back again to the great hall, and seemed anxious that the troublesome visitor should depart; and only the very words of Dr. Buchanan can adequately describe the close of this extraordinary interview.

" 'Now, Father,' said I, 'lead me to the dungeons below. I want to see the captives.' 'No,' said he, 'that cannot be.' I now began to suspect that it had been the mind of the Inquisitor, from the beginning, to show me only a certain part of the Inquisition, in the hope of satisfying my inquiries in a general way. I urged him with earnestness; but he steadily resisted, and seemed offended, or rather agitated, by my importunity. I intimated to him plainly that the only way to do justice to his own assertion and arguments regarding the present state of the Inquisition, was to show me the prisons and the captives. I should then describe only what

I saw; but now the subject was left in awful obscurity. 'Lead me down,' said I, 'to the inner building; and let me pass through the two hundred dungeons, ten feet square, described by your former captives. Let me count the number of your present captives, and converse with them. I want to see if there be any subjects of the British Government to whom we owe protection. I want to ask how long they have been here, how long it is since they have seen the light of the sun, and whether they expect ever to see it again. Show me the chamber of torture, and declare what modes of execution, or of punishment, are now practised inside the walls of the Inquisition, in lieu of the public *Acto-de-Fé*. If, after all that has passed, Father, you resist this reasonable request, I shall be justified in believing that you are afraid of exposing the real state of the Inquisition in India.'

"To these observations the Inquisitor made no reply, but seemed impatient that I should withdraw. 'My good Father,' said I, 'I am about to take my leave of you, and to thank you for your hospitable attentions; and I wish always to preserve on my mind a favourable sentiment of your kindness and candour. You cannot, you say, show me the captives and the dungeons: be pleased, then, merely to answer this question, for I shall believe your word. How many prisoners are there now below in the cells of the Inquisition?' The Inquisitor replied, 'That is a question which I cannot answer.' On his pronouncing these words, I retired hastily towards the door, and wished him farewell. We shook hands with as much cordiality as we could at the moment assume, and both of us, I believe, were sorry that our parting took place with a clouded countenance."

After leaving the Inquisitor, Dr. Buchanan, feeling as if he could not refrain from endeavouring to get another and perhaps nearer view, returned to avail himself of the pretext afforded by a promise, from the Chief Inquisitor, of a letter to the British Resident in Travancore, in answer to one which he had brought him from that officer. The Inquisitors he expected to find within, in the "Board of the Holy Office." The doorkeepers surveyed him doubtfully, but allowed him to pass. He entered that great hall, went up directly to the lofty crucifix described by Dellon, sat down on a

form, wrote some notes, and then desired an attendant to carry in his name to the Inquisitor. As this person was walking across the hall, the Doctor saw a poor woman sitting by the wall. She clasped her hands, and looked at him imploringly. The sight chilled his spirit; and as he was asking the attendants the cause of her apprehension,—for she was awaiting trial,—Joseph à Doloribus came, in answer to his message, and was about to complain of the intrusion, when he parried the complaint by asking for the letter from the Chief Inquisitor. He promised to send it after him, and conducted him to the door. As they passed the poor woman, the Doctor pointed to her, and said with emphasis, “Behold, Father, another victim of the Holy Inquisition.” The other answered nothing: they bowed, and separated without a word.

When Dr. Buchanan published his “Christian Researches in Asia,” in the year 1812, the horrible tribunal still existed in Goa; but the establishment of a scheme of constitutional government in Portugal has since put an end to it, at least in form, throughout the Portuguese dominions abroad.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### SPANISH AMERICA.

THE Court of Rome has not usually made gift or grant, except for some adequate consideration. Accordingly, when Alexander VI. made a pecuniary concession to Ferdinand and Isabella, (A.D. 1501,) he did so on the consideration that it was their desire "to acquire and recover the islands and countries of the Indies,"—America being included in the Indies,—“in order that in them *every condemned sect being cut down*, the Most High might be worshipped and revered.” At Rome, however, the Most High—*Altissimus*—was none other than the Pope; and the Bull itself acknowledges that it was not only the desire of the Papacy to extirpate heathenism in America, even by the extirpation of the heathen themselves, but to destroy all condemned sects. Even before Luther there were condemned sects; and the document now quoted betrays an apprehension that, in the wilderness of the New World, sects might flourish and spread which could not be utterly suppressed at home, even by the aid of troopers and Inquisitors. In America, therefore, while the army destroyed the natives, the Church was to annihilate the sects.

Races of New Christians were the earliest objects of pursuit across the Atlantic Ocean. That none of them might find refuge in America, the Spanish Inquisitor-General, the magnificent Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros, nominated (May 7th, 1516) Fray Juan Quevedo, Bishop of Cuba, to be his delegate in the kingdom of Terra Firma, as the Spanish-American continental territories were then called, and empowered him to appoint the necessary ministers. Charles I.—or, as Emperor, Charles V.—gave permanence and extended power to the new institution, by desiring the Cardinal Adrian to nominate Inquisitors, to be independent of the Spanish



Inquisition; and, on that nomination, he appointed Alonso Manso, Bishop of Puerto Rico, and Pedro de Cordova, Vice-Provincial of the Dominicans, to be "Inquisitors of the Indies and islands of the Ocean," with powers for the establishment of an Inquisition there. The Royal Order to that effect was signed on the 20th of May, 1520.

The New Christians of America were not only the fugitives from Europe, but natives of those vast regions who had been compelled to submit to baptism, so far as the Spanish conquests brought them under the power of the invaders; and as they were no less heathens than before, they observed certain forbidden rites of the old idolatry as relics of their ancient state when under their own Kings, and they practised those rites with an enthusiastic attachment, so far as secrecy or hope of impunity encouraged them so to do. On the other hand, the newly-created Inquisition, although not yet placed over regularly-defined districts, and administered only by Dominicans wandering from place to place, pushed its power to the utmost; and, after beginning its peculiar work of death, so alarmed the Indians that they retreated in multitudes into the interior, renounced the profession of Christianity, and joined themselves to yet unconquered tribes.

The Spanish Viceroys, alarmed at the general desertion, and fearing that the recently-acquired territories would be depopulated, and that those combinations of Indians would grow too powerful to be resisted, entreated King Charles to put a stop to the proceedings of the Inquisitors. His Majesty, partaking of their apprehension, commanded (October 15th, 1538) the Inquisitors not to interfere, on any account, with aboriginal natives of America, but only with Europeans and their descendants. Yet the Indians were not exempted from inquisition of heresy, but placed under the control of the Bishops, a set of men practically inferior to the Inquisitors, but seldom so murderous as they, and, in this instance, instructed to proceed with gentleness and caution. But the Inquisitors could not so easily be displaced; for, being still permitted to follow their vocation in regard to Europeans by birth or descent, they soon transgressed that limit, evaded the Royal Order by means of the Secret; and the original evil, after some slight palliation for a

few years, became almost as flagrant as ever, and the inhibition had to be renewed. (October 18th, 1549.) The vigilance of the temporal authorities, and the torrent of popular hatred that the barbarous insolence of the Holy Office had drawn forth, made the position of an Inquisitor scarcely less perilous than odious, and few persons could be found willing to undertake the charge.

The humbled Inquisitors then cried out for succour in their turn ; and Philip II., after having set aside the more politic restrictions of his predecessor, and feasted his eyes on the martyrdoms of Spain, as he had gloated over those of England, issued a Royal Order, (January 25th, 1569,) complaining that the heretics, by books and conversations, introduced their new doctrine into America ; said that the Council of the Supreme, with the Inquisitor-General at their head, had resolved to name Inquisitors and ministers, not to perambulate the country, as formerly, but to be intrenched amidst palaces and prisons, and be obeyed, as in Spain, by the magistrate and the soldier ; and he commanded accordingly. Consequently chiefs of inquisitorial districts were installed, first in Panamá, (June 20th, 1569,) and next in Lima. (January 29th, 1570.) The Inquisitors made solemn entries into those places ; and the authorities, again reduced to abject submission, received them with every demonstration of honour that could be devised. Mexico followed next ; (August 18th, 1570 ; ) and the process of organization reached yet another stage, when it was ordained that at three central tribunals, in Lima, Mexico, and Cartagena de Indias, Inquisitors-General should preside, and guide the operations of subordinate establishments, (December 26th, 1571,) subject, however, to the Supreme Council in Madrid. There is reason to believe that persecutions were by this time renewed on a very large scale, although, through poverty of record, they cannot be reduced to history.

It is known that in 1574, the very year that the conqueror of Mexico, Hernan Cortés, died, the first *Auto* was celebrated in the city of Mexico with great pomp ; and, unless by the absence of royalty, was not inferior in grandeur to that of Valladolid, where Philip, as the reader may remember, so rigidly and ostentatiously fulfilled his vow to take vengeance

on the heretics. At this first Mexican *Auto*, it is related that a Frenchman, who had probably escaped the Bartholomew massacres, and an Englishman, were burnt as impenitent Lutherans. Eighty penitents were exhibited at the same time, some punished for Judaizing, and some for holding the opinions of Luther or Calvin. A few did penance for bigamy; the sorry Christianity of Spain not having sufficed to overcome the customs of Paganism,—customs which the Gospel itself only eradicates with the spread of true experimental piety. And a few did sore penance for magic and superstition.

As if the religion of the Reformation were a plague, and as if the plague might be kept within bounds by cutting off communication, infected persons were forbidden to cross the seas. The laws relating to America abound in provisions of the kind; but a Royal Ordinance of the beginning of the seventeenth century may be taken as a pattern of them all. "We ordain and command," says Philip III., "that no one newly converted to our Holy Faith, from being Moor or Jew, nor his child, shall pass over into our Indies, without our express licence. And we also prohibit and command that no one who has been reconciled," (by the usual penance,) "nor the child or grandchild of any one who has publicly worn a Sambenito, nor the child or grandchild of a person burnt or condemned as a heretic, for the crime of heretical pravity, through either male or female descent, shall pass over to the Indies, under penalty of loss of goods for our chamber and fisc, and his person shall be placed at our mercy, to be perpetually banished from our Indies; and, if he have no property, let them give him a hundred lashes, publicly." \*

Lashes were doubtless given, and property confiscated; but as a way of egress might be opened by royal licence, Spanish merchants of impure blood might pay their fees of office, and pass beyond the ocean; or, through petty bribery to underlings, persons of inferior class could at any time effect an embarkation; and thus a rapidly-increasing population of New Christians was mingled with the Spanish-American. These people brought constant work for the Inquisitors, who not only demanded aid of the secular arm, but were ever

\* *Ordenanzas Reales para la Contratacion de Sevilla, &c.* Valladolid, 1604.

encroaching on the jurisdiction of the magistrates, which rendered it necessary for the Court of Madrid to interpose by the gentler method of agreement, under sanction of the Crown, between the rival powers beyond sea, or by the mandate of the Sovereign.

This rivalry served one great end. It diminished the power of the Inquisition; for viceroys, in their jealousy of ecclesiastical pretensions, were not sorry to see public indignation sometimes burst on those "holy officers," who were obliged to content themselves with *particular Autos*, where they alone officiated, and the civil authorities took no part. And here, again, an authentic document contains full description. It is a small volume, printed in Mexico in 1648, intituled, "Relation of the Third Particular *Auto-de-Fé* that the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition of the Kingdoms and Provinces of New Spain celebrated in the Church of the Professed House of the Sacred Religion of the Company of Jesus, on the thirtieth of March, 1648; the very Illustrious Lords Doctor Don Francisco de Estrada y Escovedo, Doctor Don Juan Saenz de Mañozca, and Licentiate Don Bernabé de la Higuera y Amarilla, being Inquisitors therein."\* This rare volume consists of the Summaries that were published by the Reader on that occasion; and has a preface, equally authentic of course, from the pen of one of the said lords, or of a secretary. This is written in intricate out-of-date Castillian, of which a close translation shall speak in precisely correspondent English.

"As indefatigable for vigilance of the care, and awake to the duties of the labour, the upright, just, and holy Tribunal of the Inquisition of New Spain, always desiring to manifest to the Christian people, amidst the accustomed piety that is an attribute of their profession, and to make known to the world, in view of the clemency that is the boast of their glories, the necessary punishment and inevitable chastisement that is done on the heretical perfidy and rebellious obstinacy of the cruel and sanguinary enemies of our sacred religion; who, blind to its light, deny it, and deaf to its voice, flee from it. The Lords Inquisitors who act therein,

\* It may be found in the British Museum, by referring to the "Old Catalogue," under the head INQUISITION.

anxious to gain in rich perfection the foreseen toil of their wakefulness, and the fruit of their unwearied labour, have celebrated two Particular Acts of Faith in the past years, 1646 and 1647, in which, with all attention and good order, were despatched, and went forth to public theatre, seventy-one causes; the greater part of them Jews, observant of the dead and *detestable* law of Moses. And now, for particular and convenient ends, not open to the investigation of curiosity, and not without well-advised resolution, this Holy Tribunal determined to celebrate another Particular Act of Faith in the church of the Professed House of the Sacred Religion of the Company of Jesus, one of the most capacious and convenient for the purpose that there are in this city, on March 30th, 1648. In which were put to penance and punished (manifesting its severity no less than its clemency and pity) twenty-eight persons, as well men as women, for the atrocious delinquencies and grave crimes by them perpetrated, that in this brief and summary relation shall be told. The guilty penitents going out of the prisons of the Inquisition, each one between two ministers of this Holy Tribunal, at six o'clock in the morning, without any obstruction of the way, or disturbance of good order, from the numerous multitudes of people that were packed close on both sides of the broad streets, but who gave good way to the criminals until they reached the said church; where, after the orderly procession of penitents was brought in, and the Lords Inquisitors were seated in their tribunal," (who afterwards drove away in their carriages, attended by their servants and officers,) "it being then seven o'clock in the morning, the noise of the people that attended being hushed," (yells and hootings on the appearance of the heretics,) "in good and prescribed order began the reading of the causes, and continued until six o'clock in the evening; and the guilty having abjured, and they with whom that business had to be done being absolved and reconciled, they took them back in the same form and order to the house of the Inquisition, whence they had come by different streets, with the same accompaniment. *And the day following the justice of lashes was executed; all this kingdom remaining in hope of another more numerous and General Act, for exaltation and*

*glory of our Holy Catholic faith, punishment and warning of her enemies, edification and instruction of the faithful."*

Notwithstanding the incapacity of the scribe, the summaries present lively pictures of the moral state of society in Mexico at that time; and some of them have peculiar value, as disclosing the manner in which Jews persisted, from generation to generation, in observing that "dead and detestable Law of Moses," as the Spanish doctors were pleased to call it. Others exhibit specimens of clerical depravity and vulgar superstition.

*Gaspar de los Reyes* was one of the vagrants who found their way to New Spain. He was a layman, cleverly acting the part of priest, who said mass, absolved, imposed penance, baptized, married, gave extreme unction, and swindled very extensively. As to the burying and the swindling, there could be no doubt that they were facts accomplished; but seeing that sacramental acts depend for validity on intention, there must have been great perplexity in the case of *Gaspar de los Reyes*. Did he intend to do as the Church intends? No one could trust in the rectitude of his intentions: therefore transubstantiation, absolution, regeneration, legitimacy of children, and final salvation of penitents, were sunk into the category of uncertainties under his hands. It was a bad case,—very bad. The man must have been a heretic. He was contumacious, and should have been burnt. But in absence of a secular arm to inflict that penalty, he was made to carry a green taper in his hand, a rope round his neck, and a white corozza on his head. Then he was abjured *de vehementi*,—only suspected, although vehemently; for it would have been a scandal to have a convicted heretic seen among living men,—received three hundred lashes, or was to receive them, and was to be shipped off to the galleys of Spain, "perpetual and irremissible." Another case of the same kind was to be punished with two hundred lashes, and five years in the galleys.

*Fray Josef de Santa Cruz*, forty-three years of age, monk, priest, and confessor, had come to Mexico from Seville without licence, thrown off his habit, changed his name, married twice, become the father of several children, and was in practice as a physician. After the lapse of many

years he was discovered, arrested, imprisoned, brought out in this *Auto*, and sentenced to carry a green candle. He abjured *de vehementi*; was made to save the funds of a hospital in Mexico by serving the sick poor there for four years, without pay; and then, from being a prisoner at large, was to be given up to his prelates, to be dealt with according to the canons and rules. This sentence obviously tended to reserve him for the fire when a general *Auto*, so earnestly desired by the Inquisition, might be granted for the exaltation and glory of the faith.

*Alexo de Castro*, eighty-two years of age, native of Manilla in the Philippines, a concealed Mohammedan, as they said, was accused of Moorish practices in private. As they could not burn him, he was imprisoned in a monastery, there to serve, and there to perish.

*Sebastian Domingo*, sixty years of age, a Negro slave. This was a most pitiable case. Poor Sebastian had married when young; his wife and he had been separately sold, and his second owner compelled him to marry another woman, supposing that by that means he might be attached to the estate, and prevented from running away to seek his lawful wife. For this compulsory second marriage he was delated, and imprisoned in the Inquisition of La Puebla de los Angeles. There, in consequence of a large increase in the number of prisoners, he was taken from the dungeon, sworn to fidelity and secrecy, and compelled to be servant in the Holy House. It would appear from his defence, that he did not understand the extent of his obligation as to secrecy, but, yielding to a feeling that did him no discredit, spoke to a prisoner through the grating of his prison-door, carried a message to his wife, who was soon imprisoned for receiving it, and brought him letters, with pen, ink, and paper. The grateful woman gave him money for the service, and the receiving it was added to the list of his transgressions. They sentenced him to a green candle, rope, abjuration *de levi*, two hundred lashes, six years' labour in the Spanish galleys; or, if he could not go, and the Tribunal knew, "in secret," a reason why he could not, he was to be sold for a hundred dollars, to be applied to the ordinary expenses of the Holy Office. The sale, however, was of his services, only, for a

time which would, of course, be long enough to make sure of him for life, and at the expiration of that time he was to be restored to his owner. Suppose him to outlive the infliction of two hundred lashes; or suppose that, not to lower his value, the lashes were forgiven, and that some one would buy him for ten years, and get the utmost possible amount of service from him during that time, how much would the slave be worth, if alive, at the age of seventy? But this fraud upon his owner was committed, for the consideration of a hundred dollars, by "the upright, just, and holy" Inquisition.

*Ana Xuares*, twenty-five years of age, a native of Mexico. Both her parents had been punished as Judaizers. Her marriage with a first husband had been annulled, on some account, a year before; he was still alive, in the galleys for five years, wearing a sambenito, and further sentenced to perpetual confinement to one place of abode. She married a second time; but she and her new husband were soon separated and imprisoned. After a few days' incarceration, she asked for mercy, was admitted to audience, and confessed that, from the age of fourteen, she had observed the fasts and customs of the Law of Moses. Her maternal grandmother is said to have attended at secret meetings in the house of one Simon Vaez, at Seville, to converse concerning the precepts, fasts, rites, and ceremonies of Judaism. At those meetings all present were accustomed to take part, each bringing evidence of his own perseverance, and all encouraging each other to stand fast in the same observance.

They formed, says the summary, a sort of *conciliabulum*, or pretended council, where "Catholics" were declared to be under eternal condemnation, and their devotions, processions, and other usages were spoken of with insolent profanity, showing the "lively hatred that those perfidious and obstinate Jews cherished in their bad hearts." That aged Jewess and "famous dogmatizer" used to take the lead; talk with pride of her children and grandchildren that were good Jews, instructed from childhood by herself; who had made proficiency, fasted admirably, and already attained to high reputation as good Jews and Jewesses throughout the Hebrew nation. *Ana Xuares* had been one of her most



zealous pupils, and displayed intense enthusiasm in attachment to her religion. She loved her second husband, say they, much better than the first, and married him far more willingly, not because he was a better Jew, but because his father had been burnt in one of the Inquisitions of Portugal. When in prison, she carried on written correspondence with fellow-prisoners under a false name, and, eluding the vigilance of the Alcaydes, sent messages, received and forwarded messages to other prisoners, made jest about the sambenitos they would have to wear, and agreed with them to make up those garbs of infamy so gay that they would be ornamental, and be rather a credit to the wearers than a disgrace. The Lords Inquisitors in the mother-country would have been horrified to know of this low state of discipline in the Holy House of Mexico. In Seville, or Coimbra, or Goa, prisoners would never have been set to do the work of servants; neither would men be taken from the cells to serve in the kitchen, nor women employed to do needlework. The punishment of this brave Jewess consisted in appearing in the procession of the *Auto*, in the garb of a penitent, carrying a green candle, confiscation of her goods, formal abjuration, perpetual confinement to one place, the sambenito, perpetual banishment from all the West Indies, transportation to Old Spain in the first fleet that might sail from the Port of St. Juan de Ulloa, perpetual banishment from Seville, the home of her family, and from the Court of Madrid, and obligation to present herself at the Inquisition immediately on landing in Spain, that her person might be known, and that she might receive orders for the fulfilment of all particulars of the allotted penance and confinement. If she failed as to any of those particulars, she would be punished, as an impenitent, with death.

With all the incompetence of those Mexican Inquisitors, they had a certain low ingenuity; they contrived to recover lost ground, and they gained the desire of their heart in the revival of general *Autos*. One such they had in 1659, when *William Lambert*, an Irishman, was burnt in Mexico, being suspected of the heresies of Luther, Calvin, Pelagius, Wycliffe, and Huss. Luther and Pelagius come rather awkwardly together; but this lavish enumeration of heresies

was a mere decoration of the record. His real offence was writing "against the Holy Office, its erection, style, mode of proceeding, and the secrecy it observed; also against the Inquisitor's secretaries and servants." One *Pedro García de Arias* was burnt at the same time, his chief offence being freedom of speech in regard to the same persons.\*

Englishmen and other foreigners, being Protestants, were put to death with very little ceremony, and especially when captured in the buccaneering expeditions which were carried on in those days on the coasts of America. One *Louis Ramé*, a Frenchman, saw fourteen officers taken into custody by the Inquisitors at Vera Cruz, and solicited to deny their faith. They were carried to the stake on June 20th, 1683, and five who refused to abjure were strangled and burnt. Nine endeavoured to purchase life by renouncing their religion; were baptized, flattered, and feasted publicly the next day; but on the evening of that very day the perfidy of the Inquisitors retributed the cowardice of the renegades. Eight died on a gallows. One, *John Morgan*, escaped by the breaking of the rope; and this they hailed as a miracle to prove that one "a good Catholic." No doubt there were many renegades, and the same Frenchman mentions one *Thomas*, a native of Plymouth, who about six months before had professed Popery to save his life.

The same *Ramé* gives a remarkable account† of his own sufferings. He describes himself as a French sailor, cast on shore at Porto Rico, in April, 1676, and kept prisoner of war more than sixteen months. Conveyed thence to Vera Cruz, and permitted to work in the town for his livelihood, he found employment in the house of a baker, but gave great offence by refusing to assist a priest in trying to pervert a dying Dutchman. On the 17th of December, 1678, he met a procession with the host, and refused to kneel; for which second offence he was instantly thrown into irons, and kept prisoner in a private house. After a fortnight's delay, they carried him to the Inquisition in Mexico. When making the usual minute interrogations, the Inquisitors asked him to abjure;

\* Puigblanc, chap. v.

† "A Complete History of the Inquisition in Portugal, Spain, Italy, &c. By the Rev. Mr. Baker, M.A." Westminster, 1786. Relation vi.

but, on his firm refusal, sent him back to the cell, where they first endeavoured to overcome his constancy by argument and persuasions, and, this failing, drugged his food, so as to induce headache, nausea, and extreme debility and anguish. In this condition, emaciated and almost delirious, after a year's confinement, they brought him up again, and accused him of many crimes that he had never so much as thought of. These accusations all failing, they questioned him on his observance of the practices of his "cursed sect;" and as he not only confessed prayer and reading of the Bible, but amply justified his so doing by quotations from the sacred volume, they sent him back again into confinement; and during three months the Chief Inquisitor paid him a weekly visit for controversy. But controversy failed. Louis Ramé still abode in the truth; the Inquisitor ceased from visiting, and they gave him "such violent food" that he almost lost his reason. Then, after the second year, he was subject to another audience, but yielded not. A third year then passed, and then a fourth; yet, contrary to the usual practice, they suffered the dogmatizing heretic to live. The reason of this tormenting lenity might perhaps be found in the existing relations between France and Spain; but, for whatever reason, his life was spared. Probably, in pain and solitude, he sought strength from God, and the event proved that strength was not denied. "Do you want anything?" the Chief Inquisitor, Juan de Miel, sometimes asked him; and he once answered, "I want the patience of Job, the virtue of Joseph, the wisdom of Solomon, the resolution of Tobit, the repentance of David, justice from your tribunal, and a quick dispatch."

Their final sentence consigned him to the royal prison,—the old palace of Montezuma,—until he could be banished from the kingdom of New Spain. Delighted at the thought of such a banishment, he swore to keep the secret of the Holy Office while in the dominions of the King of Spain. But more than four years yet elapsed before his captivity terminated. In Mexico, in Vera Cruz, in the Havana, and in Cadiz, he was treated as a criminal, although not convicted, nor even accused of any crime. At length, his long-sorrowing wife, who had gone to live in Ireland, heard of his

imprisonment in Cadiz, came over to London, interested benevolent persons in his case, obtained some advocacy at the Court of Madrid, and on the 18th of May, 1687, she received him in London. With a simplicity that characterizes the whole narrative, he wrote at the close of it, "*God be praised; I was thought dead, but am living.*"

Renewed favour with the temporal authorities, as it gave the American Inquisitors a wider field, and encouraged them to greater insolence, brought them into increased disfavour with the clergy of their dioceses, until the venerable Palafox, and the Bishop of Cartagena, in America, appealed so earnestly against them at Rome, that Clement XI. gave a Brief, (January 19th, 1706,) containing a clause for the removal of the tribunal from that city.

Yet we are not to imagine that this Pope was less favourably disposed towards the Holy Office than any of his predecessors. His published letters give abundant evidence to the contrary; and the following Brief shows that after suppressing one of the tribunals in America, he employed the Supreme Council of Old Spain to be the instrument of his vigilance in the West. The language is admirably cool, and the document may be interesting to Englishmen and Anglo-Americans.

"Clement XI. to his Venerable Brother, the Archbishop of Zaragoza,\* Inquisitor-General of Spain.

"Venerable Brother, Health, &c. It has come to the knowledge of our Apostleship that the Holy Bible, translated into an American dialect, has lately been printed in the city of London, according to the depraved doctrine and corrupt sense of Protestants, under whose care and management it is brought to light for the purpose of being circulated in America. Now if the circulation takes effect, as the heretics desire, it is easy to conjecture what damage will be done to the faithful, to whom the food of Holy Scripture, sprinkled and infected with much poison, shall be presented under the name of spiritual nourishment. Therefore our pastoral duty imperatively requires us to oppose this most serious evil by all means possible; but our solicitude and charity advises

\* Antonio Ibañez de la Riba-Herrera. Llorente, cap. xl., art. 1.

that we should first of all call in your fraternal zeal to help our vigilance. Therefore, with the utmost earnestness, we desire you to use whatever means are in your power, and employ all your authority, to prevent this mischief which now threatens, and will very soon break out openly, that, by this heretical contrivance, the true doctrine of Christ may not be corrupted in the minds of those faithful. Resolve, then, that nothing shall be left undone by you that may be necessary to cut short the circulation of depraved books of this kind in America, where not even importation of them should be allowed, lest they be circulated among the faithful. It becomes the public authority, in this matter, to aid those who are in charge of souls, that what tends to the destruction of those souls may be altogether excluded and made an end of, considering that, by this pretence of propagating the Divine oracles, it is designed to insinuate its errors more and more. Considering the great importance of this matter, we doubt not that your Fraternity will act strenuously and with great diligence, while we most lovingly impart to you our Apostolic blessing."

This is dated August 31st, 1709, from Santa María Maggiore, where Clement presided over the Congregation of the Inquisition; and no doubt Riba-Herrera did his best to suppress the version in America. I find it in the Spanish Index of prohibited Books.

Notwithstanding the nominal suppression, in 1706, of the Inquisition of Cartagena, it soon sprang to life again in Mexico. As in all other parts of Spanish America, it was numbered with the establishments that were thought to impart honour to those countries, until the political convulsions of Europe spread into the transatlantic world, and, after many alternations of defeat and victory, the Inquisition fell in all the States. The latest efforts of the Inquisitors there were directed against the propagators of new political opinions; and so late as the year 1815 a priest was put to death in Mexico for having taken part in a movement for separation of the colony from Old Spain. That was his real offence; but it was preferred to throw him into the secret prison of the Inquisition, and proceed against him for atheism. One proof of the atheism of this priest, *Josef*

*María Morellos*, was, that he had two children. If having children proves a Romish priest to be an atheist, few of that body, either in the old world or the new, are free from the taint of atheism.

For such atrocities as those of the Papacy, committed through its Inquisition, shall not God be avenged? The denunciations of prophets, and the events of history, declare that the priesthood cannot escape His avenging retribution, and the world has witnessed their humiliation in countries where they had domineered for ages. In South America, during the struggles of Old Spain for constitutional freedom after the fall of Bonaparte, and when the Spanish colonies were demanding independence, the clergy took part against the people on the side of absolute government; and, not content with using the legitimate influence of their position, diminished as it was by their own misconduct, they expended the wealth of their churches in carrying on a civil war. Ammunition was stored in the houses of priests and bishops; and preachers assailed those in their congregations who promoted the new order of things. Then popular fury burst upon the clergy. The Archbishop of Mexico, Don Juan de la Serna, was banished; the Bishop of Honduras was put to death; and most, if not all the bishops, were driven from their sees.

One brief paragraph, translated from the Spanish of the Canon P. A. F. de Cordova, an apologist of their own, may serve to intimate what it remains with political historians to narrate in full.

“The Bishop of the capital,” (Lima,) “Don Benito de Lue y Riega, the Lord Archbishop Moxo of Charcas, y Videla, Lord Bishop of Salta, have died in consequence of sufferings in banishment. They” (the Republicans) “obliged Orellana, Bishop of Tucuman, to betake himself to flight through deep forests and trackless wilds. The present Bishop of Paraguay has quite lost his reason through the treatment he suffered. Señor Otondo, Bishop-Elect of Santa Cruz, lies in prison at Salta; and Rodriguez, Lord Bishop of Santiago, of Chile, is exiled in Mendoza.”\* The Bishop of Truxillo, who had

\* *Memorias para servir á la Historia de las Persecuciones de la Iglesia en America.* Lima, 1821.

concealed himself in a solitary place, called Torche, was traced, apprehended, and banished ; and the warlike stores found in his palace were transferred to the magazine of artillery in Truxillo. Thus were the weapons of offence, which they and their predecessors had used so actively for seven centuries, turned against themselves, and the world saw a solemn confirmation of the Saviour's words : " They that take the sword shall perish by the sword."

Perhaps the fugitive bishops, who so perished in America, bethought themselves, in their last days, of the severer sufferings of the thousands of Waldenses and Reformed in the solitudes of the Alps and the Pyrennees. And they might have experienced some compunction while contrasting the provocations of their own tyranny with the unoffending innocence of those martyred disciples of the Crucified.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### ITALY: THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

THE first principles of the Inquisition were laid down in the Fourth Lateran Council, under Pope Innocent III., in the year 1215. Innocent IV., about thirty years later, addressed certain Constitutions to the governors, magistrates, and municipal bodies in the provinces of Italy, who were all regarded as children and vassals of the Papal See. They suffered themselves to be so regarded, and condescended so to act, with the single exception of the Republic of Venice; which refused, indeed, to accept the ignoble designation, or to allow the Bishop of Rome directly to control its magistrates in the exercise of their domestic jurisdiction; but the State did not refuse to persecute by its own authority.

“After that Pope Innocent IV.,” says Fra Paolo Sarpi, “tried to deprive the Emperor Frederic II. of the empire, kingdom, and states that he possessed; and a great part of Christendom being thereupon in arms, and all Lombardy in debate with the March of Trevigi and Romagna, then divided into favourers of the Pope and of the Emperor, they were infected with various perverse opinions;” (as the Venetian calls evangelical doctrines;) “and, retreating to Venice, there to live in security, the wisdom of this government found a remedy in the year 1249, to guard the city from being infected with that contagion which infected the rest of Italy. Wherefore they determined to choose honest, discreet, and Catholic men to inquire against heretics; and that the Patriarch of Grado, the Bishop of Castello, and the other Bishops of the Doge of Venice, from Grado to Caverzere, should judge of their opinions; and that those that by any of the bishops were given out to be heretics, should be



condemned to the fire by the Duke and Councillors, or the major part of them." \*

The Doge and Councillors of Venice took it for a fundamental principle of Christianity that heretics ought to be punished, and that the punishment should be capital; but they said that they would not allow a foreigner to intermeddle either in the sentence or the execution. Neither did they; and although the Venetian territory ceased to afford refuge to the persecuted, inquest was not made, or death demanded, by any foreign prince or prelate, and the Inquisition there began under an exclusively civil authority and jurisdiction.

Where the magistrates of other Italian States did not resist the young Inquisition for the sake of honour, the people often resisted for the sake of liberty. Of two Dominicans appointed to conduct the operations of an Inquisition in Lombardy, one was killed while in the execution of his office: and although the mention of this fact should perhaps be attended with a note of disapprobation, it must be remembered that the Church recognised, and even invited, tumultuary violence on its own side; instructing the priests to raise mobs for the purpose of murdering heretics. We must therefore acknowledge that if the mob so taught and so employed sometimes fell upon their teachers, the retribution was merited, to say the least; and they who roused the mob at first deserved the blame at last. To this day the same sanction is given to mob violence. That "against traitors and public enemies every man is a soldier," is a sentence ascribed to Tertullian, and quoted by ecclesiastics where they would instigate the laity to violence in support of their Church.†

By this principle the legislatures of Italian States believed their laws to be sanctified, when they engaged the people to

\* "History of the Inquisition of Venice," by Paolo Sarpi. Translated into English. Chap. i.

† It was used by the Marquis of Vallada in a debate in the Portuguese House of Lords on the 4th of May, 1855. His object was to banish a Protestant who had attempted to discourse publicly in Lisbon on the doctrines of his religion, which both the Marquis and "the Minister of the kingdom" regarded as an offence against the religion of the State.—*Diário do Governo, Lisboa*, 5 de Maio, 1855.

destroy heretics. In this spirit was framed a statute of the ancient "Art" or Guild of Calimala, in Florence, beginning with these articles :—

"1. We will observe, and honour, and maintain, the holy Catholic faith, and will give help and counsel to the Government of Florence for destroying heretical pravity, if by that Government we are so required. And this we will do in good faith, according to the Statute of the Commune of Florence." (Which statute required popular assistance for that purpose.)

"2. It is also provided that no one shall dare to speak villainy of God, or of His saints, or of Holy Mary, or to name them villainously or lawlessly in the Court of Calimala, under a penalty of twenty-five pounds (*livre*) for each and every time, or above that sum, at the pleasure of the consuls of Calimala." \*

It is most proper that a corporate body should restrain its members by fine from using any blasphemous or indecent language; but to engage in general to destroy heresy at the pleasure of the Government, and to silence by heavy fines any testimony borne against idolatry, is another matter.

After the death of the Dominican in Lombardy, the nobles and magistrates feared to enforce the decrees of the Emperor Frederic against the Patarnes and others, as Innocent IV. still required them to do; and the Inquisition was therefore empowered, by the Pope, to lay them under ecclesiastical censures until they had inserted the pontifical and imperial statutes—copies of which were sent to them for that purpose—among the statutes of their "cities and places," and had sworn to observe the same, and caused them to be observed with all their might. And as for private persons, against whom the terrors of an interdict could not be launched, he commanded his dear sons, the Inquisitors, to exact caution-money from persons suspected of aiding or abetting heretics, to be forfeited to the Holy Office, if they were detected in rendering the least succour or encouragement to excommunicated, or even suspected, persons. This award of prize-money to the scrutators of

\* *Statuto dell' Arte di Calimala, nell' Appendice alla Storia Politica dei Municipj Italiani di P. E. Giudici. Firenze, 1851.*

the faith could not but quicken their diligence, and stimulate their courage.

And now the so-called Vicars of Christ breathed defiance against all the world. The Empire and the Papacy were in arms against each other, almost dividing Europe between the factions of Guelph and Ghibeline. Italy there was none. State was divided against state from one end to the other of what once was Italy; and the horrors of a religious war unspeakably aggravated the general confusion. The Church of Rome devolved on the Inquisitors the active service of this war, and Pope after Pope instructed them how to impress prelates to head the troops of crusaders raised to fight against Christians in the name of Christ. These Inquisitors travelled from place to place, delivering inflammatory harangues, and then enlisting volunteers for the murderous enterprise. For wages they offered plenary indulgences, and the booty that their marauders could find in the dwellings of the persecuted. For honour they gave them crosses, desecrating the sign of human redemption by making it a badge of butchery.

The annals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are full of the conflicts that raged between the Inquisition, or its agents, and the civil powers of Europe; but, most of all, with those called Italian. But the isolation of states, the ignorance of populations, and the advancing organization of the ecclesiastical forces, determined the victory, in most cases, to the aggressors.

In Genoa, for example, one Anselmo, an Inquisitor-General, persisted in requiring the Governor of the city, *Filippo di Torino*, to insert the numerous Decrees of the Emperors and Constitutions of the Popes in the tables of civic law, and publish them throughout the city and state for universal observance. The Governor, supported by the magistracy in general, refused to do so, and thereby incurred condemnation as a hinderer of the Holy Office, and fell under suspicion of being a favourer of heretics. The Inquisitor summoned him to appear at his table, there to undergo examination; but he indignantly refused to go. Anselmo solemnly excommunicated him, and placed Genoa under interdict. *Filippo* appealed to Alexander IV. for redress; and His Holiness

deigned to suspend the interdict until a certain day, merely to give the recalcitrant Governor space for repentance. Before the appointed day came, the poor man tendered obedience, caused all the Constitutions that the Inquisitor pleased to specify to be inscribed among the laws of Genoa, and had all whom the Inquisitor chose to deliver over to him under sentence of heresy put to death. During this ignominious quivering under the hoof of priestly tyranny, some one had written a "Short Tract concerning the Perils of the Last Times," disclosing some abominations of the Dominican and Franciscan Inquisitors. To get rid of such annoyances, Pope Alexander employed a method of suppression which afterwards became general, and still should form the constant business of a Roman congregation. He commanded three cardinals to read the book, received their censure, gave that censure sanction, and required the copies that had seen the light to be given up to the Inquisitors within a week, to be publicly burnt. Thus Genoa was made quiet for a time; and there can be no doubt that, besides the book, many of its readers were committed to the flames.\* Genoa may be fairly taken as a specimen of the state of all south of the Alps.

The silent abjection of Italy, and the inquisitorial triumph achieved over Europe, gave Pope Alexander leisure to revise the existing code, and issue new mandates to the Inquisitors and other clergy everywhere, assigning to each class of ecclesiastics their peculiar part in the general service; thus imparting to the tribunals uniformity of administration, and making the secular clergy more and more subservient for the general inquisition of heretical pravity.

Language could not be more sternly imperative than that of Alexander IV. to his "beloved children, the podestas, councillors, and communities of the cities and other places of Italy." "We command the whole of you (*universitati vestræ*) by Apostolic letters, that so far as we have explained to you the laws of the Emperor Frederic against heretical pravity, of which copies are sent herewith, you every one of you cause them to be made known in your capitulars against

\* Bzovius, A.D. 1256.

heretics of all sects whatever, and proceed in conformity thereto with exact diligence. And we have directed our beloved children, the friars Inquisitors of heretical pravity, and in our letters to each of them have enjoined, that if you do not, they compel you by excommunication of your persons, and interdict on your land without appeal.”\* The civil authorities not being sufficiently prompt in rendering obedience to this mandate, he sent the very next year a law, which they were to execute in all their states, as mere auxiliaries to the Inquisition. And as for the Inquisitors themselves, he gave them a Bull to save them from any concern of conscience, while committing unlimited rapine and murder, setting forth that “the God of indulgences and Father of mercy,” valuing their services in the cause of the faith, had empowered him to refresh them with salutary rewards; and that, therefore, relying on the authority of God, *and* of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, he gave them, beforehand, a free pardon of all sins. Being thus booted, they could less uncomfortably wade through blood.

Whoever would study in original sources the state of religion in Italy under the pontificate of Alexander IV. may find the first suggestions in his own Letters Apostolic. In spite of all those fulminations, so frequently repeated, and in defiance of all the coercion that he could employ, the laity would not yield universal obedience to his pleasure; and from almost all quarters the Inquisitors reported that magistrates and people did not support them to the extent of their requirements, and that they were prevented by passive resistance from rooting the tares out of the field.

Some few cities, on the other hand, were made to seem loyal to the Pope; and one of them is marked as worthy of everlasting honour on that account. That city was Viterbo, a place under the weight of ecclesiastical influence. At Chiana, in the province of Romagna, *Capello di Chiana*, as he is called, having been convicted of heresy, and condemned accordingly, but probably supported by the people, had refused to yield, and the Inquisitors could not get possession of his person. Some of the authorities of Viterbo, doubtless

\* *Litteræ Apostolicæ, ut supra.*

themselves ecclesiastics, came to the help of the Inquisitors by raising "an army" to march against him; and the "Father of the faithful" hastened to laud their zeal, and exhort them to attack the town without loss of time, and lay waste the lands of Capello. The senators of Viterbo, indeed, had forbidden the troops to march; but Alexander bade them go, notwithstanding, and commanded the senators to revoke the prohibition. "Be careful thus to obey our admonitions and commands," said he to the ruffians, "that you may increase in merits with God, in grace from us, and in glorious fame with men." At this rate Alexander proceeded until his death.

In the latter half of the thirteenth century the Papal thunders rolled more widely; the Bulls being no longer addressed to those provinces only where Roman influences were most powerful, and the servants of the Inquisition most active, but to "all believers in Christ," under the assumption that all the world was amenable to the Pope.

In Parma, Honorius IV. being our witness, the inhabitants rescued a woman from the stake, whither the chiefs of the city had led her, in pursuance of a sentence of the Holy Office. The people dispersed the executioners, went to the Franciscan convent, burst open the doors, battered in the roof of the church, took away vestments and other valuables, and administered such a castigation on the bodies of as many friars as they could catch,—each member of that brotherhood being invested with the office of Inquisitor,—that the whole of them fled, one alone excepted, who had not strength to flee left in him, but died of the wounds received. Gladly would the Podesta, the Captain, and other magistrates of Parma have been released from obligation to burn their fellow-citizens, and for some time they refused to acknowledge the authority of the Bishop, who cited them to answer for the riot; but the usual application of an interdict brought them to the dust again; and, abjectly thanking the Pope for his lenity in sparing them from the vengeance of a crusade, the community of Parma paid Pope Honorius a fine of a thousand marks of silver, which he imposed on them for their insolence.

Apostolic letters, however, do not suffer the whole truth to

transpire, or we should hear much more than such incidents as these. We should hear confessions of Gospel truth as well as protestations against the Pope, and probably on the present occasion. Many persons crossed over to Sicily, in hope of finding refuge on that island; but the vigilant Pope sent a party of Inquisitors after them, who pursued them into their most remote retreats, and did not relinquish the pursuit, so long as a fugitive could be tracked. But that was not until the lapse of nearly seventy years, when a few survivors came back into Calabria, (A.D. 1353,) and there preached Christ with considerable acceptance, rousing again the ire of Rome. Innocent VI. dispatched a Dominican Inquisitor to counteract their influence, if possible, and subjected the whole kingdom of Sicily to his censure, in revenge for some degree of humanity in the laity, who connived at the existence of more enlightened Christians among them.\*

All the states of Italy in the fourteenth century still retained a strong feeling of national independence, and especially the nobles, who would certainly have cast off the yoke of Papal supremacy, had it not been for the Inquisition.

But Venice was, in those times, the strongest, most flourishing, and most important state of all, on account of its commercial prosperity, and position as a bulwark of Christendom against the Turks. To subdue Venice by force was therefore impossible. The Popes resorted to stratagem. Nicholas IV., himself a Minor Friar, on coming to the Papal throne in 1288, besought the Doge and Senate to allow the brethren of his order to exercise their functions as Inquisitors within the Republic. The Venetians, foolishly imagining that Popes can be bound by stipulations, and trusting in their own power to resist future encroachments, yielded to his importunity, after some reluctance, and suffered the Franciscans to assume the office in conjunction with the Doge, or, as they fancied, in subordination to the Doge. To the Doge they had reserved the dignity of Inquisitor-General, inasmuch as he sanctioned the prosecutions, received the spoils, and also paid the Inquisitors very handsomely. The Pope most readily agreed to the arrangement, and the Doge

\* Brxovius, A.D. 1353.

was flattered. He fondly thought himself an Alexander, able to mount and rein in the Bucephalus that none had yet mastered. The Venetians were content, and forthwith gloried in being the only people in the world whose magistrates were permitted to look into the dungeons, and haply to exert some influence in managing the affairs of the Inquisition. Twelve years passed away quietly. The Inquisitors did their duty with diligence, and the Councillors of State were complacent and undisturbed, until Friar Anthony, Inquisitor, too confident in possession, issued a monitory to the Doge, requiring him to swear to the Papal and Imperial Constitutions against heretics. These Constitutions, as we have just now related, would have reduced all civil power to a nullity, except for killing victims marked out in secret for execution. The Doge refused obedience; but the erection of a lay Inquisition in the first instance, and the subsequent admission of the Friars to share in its management, laid the foundation of sore troubles.

Among other chiefs of the Ghibelines, or adherents of the Emperor in opposition to the Pope, *Matteo Visconti*, Lord of Milan, incurred the displeasure of His Holiness. To overcome him by crusade was not yet possible; and, as for interdict, the Pope had already almost laid an interdict on the Milanese clergy by preventing no small number of them from performing their ordinary duties; but the Inquisition settled the quarrel. Other means having failed, Matteo was accused of heresy, and information was taken by the Inquisitors to show that he had been guilty of many wicked actions, and, among them, the following:—He had for many years prevented the Inquisitor Placentino from appointing officers to arrest heretics, and had impeded the officers of the Holy Inquisition. He had forcibly arrested the Inquisitor-Bishop Placentino, and many other prelates, and sent them into exile. He had violated the interdict at Milan, by compelling priests to minister against their will. He had followed the sect of one Manfredò.\* Being now condemned for heresy, Frederic of Austria, Louis of Bavaria, and the Marquis of Monferrato, declared war on Visconti, and, under

\* Bzovius, A.D. 1322.



this plea of heresy, deprived him and his children of their dignity and their dominions.

It is to be regretted that we have no means of enlivening and hallowing the present sketch by reciting any triumphs of our Lord's martyrs; for some such there must have been. The Inquisitors themselves, however, afford us just a glimpse into those scenes of murder, by leaving a few notes of their own on record.

*Geraldo Segarelli*, a native of some part of the Duchy of Parma, of humble parentage, made his appearance in the capital, probably about the year 1270. A friar, *Salimbeno*, whose manuscript was found in the library of Cardinal *Sabelli*, "Supreme Inquisitor in the universal Christian Republic," describes him as little better than an idiot;—which means that he was much like a thorough monk. He says that he sold his property, went into the city, and gave away the money to the rabble, and then devoted himself to preaching,—to the delusion, as he says, of the lowest and most licentious of the people. It appears to be certain, however, that his followers multiplied exceedingly, that he was for some time imprisoned by the bishop in the episcopal palace, and then sent away from Parma, but returned, and continued to propagate his doctrine in the city. The inquisitorial summary of his doctrine is as follows:—

That the Church of Rome has utterly lost the authority received from the Lord Jesus Christ, on account of the wickedness of the prelates. That the Church governed by Pope, cardinals, clerks, and monks, is not the Church of God, but is reprobate and barren. That the Roman Church is the apostate harlot of whom St. John speaks in the Apocalypse. That the authority originally given to the Roman Church has passed over to the Apostolics, as they are called, a spiritual congregation, raised up by God in these last times. That he, *Geraldo Segarelli*, was Divinely commissioned to bring back the Church to its original purity. That the Apostolics are the only Church of God that resembles that of the apostles; and therefore they owe no obedience to the Pope, nor to any other person; but they have their law from Christ,—the law of a free and perfect life. That the Pope cannot compel them to desert their sect, nor has he power to

excommunicate them. That all persons are at liberty to enter their sect, wife without permission of her husband, and husband without consent of his wife; and that in such cases the Pope cannot dissolve the marriage, but, according to the friar, the Apostolics say they can. That no one can leave them without mortal sin, nor any be saved that is not one of them. That all their persecutors commit mortal sin, and are in danger of perdition. That unless the Pope were as holy as St. Peter, he could not absolve. That all the Popes and prelates, since the time of Silvester, have been deceivers; and that all the ecclesiastical orders are a detriment to the faith of Christ. That the laity should not pay tithes until the prelates are as poor as the apostles. That life is more perfect without a monkish vow than with it. That God can be worshipped anywhere better than in a church. That no man should swear, not even when required to do so by an Inquisitor. And he is charged, as usual, with immoral opinions and practices.

This very shade of doctrinal sentiment prevails in the thirteenth century,—wherever it may have originated,—especially among the Hussites; and many of its features, where divergent from the Scriptural standard, were offensively developed in the earlier period of the German Reformation. But there is much purely Gospel truth in it; and the offence of Geraldo must have chiefly consisted in denying the holiness and authority of the Church of Rome; and for this he was burnt alive at Parma on the 18th of July, 1300.

Seven years after this martyrdom, *Dulcino* and *Margareta* his wife fled from Milan, and took refuge in the mountain-country of Novara. Into those retreats no fewer than six thousand fugitives followed them. The Inquisitor-General of Lombardy sent crusaders to hunt them down; and many were taken,—how many our authority does not say,—and were brought to Vercelli, where *Dulcino* and his wife were torn limb from limb, by order of the Inquisitors, and their disjointed bodies were then burnt. This brutal execution was followed by a new crusade, undertaken by command of Clement V., who offered a plenary indulgence to each crusader. The bishops and the Dominicans united for

the extirpation of the false Apostolics, as they called them, with perfect unanimity, and with terrible success.

It is not probable that the Inquisitors, up to this time, preserved very exact or copious records of their proceedings; and although the summaries became very full as soon as the offices, properly so called, came into action, much of the material thus accumulated has perished. Often have the Inquisitors destroyed their own archives, to prevent their being seized by the agents of hostile governments, or by angry mobs. We must therefore be content with such material of history as can be found, miscellaneous and fragmentary though it be; and even this teaches us that, besides pursuing and punishing heretics, the so-called guardians of the faith laid hands on all sectarians of any superstition or of any sort of politics that happened to be prevailing in their neighbourhood, so far as it was practicable for them to go.

Just now we find them persecuting astrologers, necromancers, alchemists, and wizards, in Italy. Pagan superstition, which is persistent far beyond general belief, even in our own country in the present day, intimately pervaded the popular mind in those dark ages; and, in spite of imperial edicts and inquisitorial severities, all varieties of occult science were as diligently cultivated in Italy as in Scythia or in Barbary. The clergy themselves were hardly less proficient than the laity in those follies.

In the thirteenth century astrology seems to have taken rank with acknowledged sciences; and, in the fourteenth, proficiency in its mysteries was a passport to fame, if not also to fortune. Astronomy and judicial astrology were confounded into one. In the Universities of Padua and Bologna there were chairs of judicial astrology; and men of the finest genius thought it incumbent on them to prosecute the study. The most potent sovereign never thought himself more happy than when attended by some renowned astrologer, who, privy to the movements, conjunctions, and oppositions of the heavenly bodies, prescribed fortunate, or warned his clients against unfortunate, days and hours. Houses were built, cities founded, armies set on the march, and battles fought, only at the times approved by those secretaries of

the fates; and under the direction of inferior wizards were performed the more important actions of domestic life. Prayer itself was thought to be more or less efficacious according to the hour of its offering; and a man who doubted the power of the stars was generally suspected of impiety towards God. But the Inquisitors were, of all persons, the most profound students of these arts; and it was no small part of their duty to decide whether the teaching and practice of the astrologer was consistent or not with the doctrine of the Church. According to them, it became criminal when he entered into compact with devils, and used their power—for they believed that there was such a power—for the perpetration of evil. And it cannot be doubted that this craft occasioned the grossest immoralities, and that the study of demonology and witchcraft, pursued with avidity by the highest and the lowest clergy, tended to aggravate incalculably the abominations of the confessional. If it had been otherwise, and the Inquisitors, possessing superior intelligence, had used their opportunity to save the people from its corruption, we might find pleasure in recording instances of their usefulness, and should gladly confess that, in one respect at least, the Inquisition was a public benefit. From two notices of the dealings of the Holy Office with astrologers in the fourteenth century the reader may judge.

*Pietro di Albano*, native of Albano, a village in the territory of Padua, was born in the year 1250. When very young, he went to Constantinople to learn Greek, an accomplishment so rare in those times as to invest its possessor with an almost supernatural character in the estimation of the vulgar; and the vulgar, be it noted, comprehended high as well as low. With Greek he also studied philosophy and medicine. At Padua, on his return, he was welcomed proudly by his countrymen; and from Padua he went to Paris, where he spent several years, and during his residence there composed a book on physiognomy, "*The Conciliator*,"—a work intended to reconcile many discordant opinions on subjects relating to philosophy and medicine, and began a *Commentary on Aristotle*.

While in Paris, it is said, he began to be accused of using en-

chantments and magic; and "The Conciliator," then written, contains a statement that some persons, unwilling or unable to receive his teaching, had vexed him with long-continued attacks, but that truth, and the authority of the Pope, saved him out of their hands. His notions of truth, however, were those of an enthusiast in something very like star-worship. He would watch for the moon to be in a favourable position, or Jupiter, and would then fall on his knees and pray, *feeling* that a prayer thus offered to God had special power. The citizens of Padua he exhorted to found a new city under some rare conjuncture of the stars that he foresaw, and assured them that thus they might at once escape from their old city, and be delivered from all the evil influences that fought against their prosperity. But they counted the certain cost of such an enterprise, and that consideration outweighed the hope of an uncertain gain. Albano was not alone in this folly, which was characteristic of his time; and while doting on astrology, he conferred a real benefit on Italy, by introducing some rudiments of medical science that were afterwards unfolded. Probably, his more successful practice was what induced some less fortunate physicians to charge him with magic, while certain speculations of his on some of our Lord's miracles gave people reason to suspect him of heresy.

To rebut the suspicion of heresy he made a solemn profession of faith, and Benevuto da Imola relates that, "when on the point of death, turning towards his friends, and pupils, and the physicians who stood around the bed, he told them that three studies had engaged his attention during life:—philosophy, which had made him subtle; medicine, which had made him rich; astrology, which had made him deceitful. And to show that he harboured no ill-will towards the Dominicans, who had always persecuted him, he directed that his body should be buried in their church in Padua. It was buried there accordingly; but the Inquisitors opened his tomb at night, burnt the corpse, and scattered the ashes to the winds. This took place in the year 1315 or 1316.

Harder was the case of *Francesco di Ascoli*, called *Cecco*, burnt to death at Florence in the year 1327. He was

Professor of Astrology in the University of Bologna, when yet but a young man, and wrote a book on the principles of that imaginary science. Astrology, therefore, could not have exposed him to punishment; but the sentence pronounced against him by Friar Lambert (December 16th, 1324) sets forth that he had spoken "badly and inordinately of the Catholic faith," and was therefore required to do penance by making a general confession, saying thirty Paternosters and thirty Ave Marias every day, fasting every Friday, and hearing a sermon from some Dominican or Minorite every Sunday. They further compelled him to bring all his books of astrology to be burnt, forbade him to lecture in Bologna or elsewhere any more, either publicly or privately, deprived him of all magistracy or honour, and fined him seventy Bolognese pounds.

Indignant at this treatment, he left Bologna, and took up his abode in Florence; but here new troubles overtook him. Some say that he gave offence to the Governor of the city by telling an ill fortune of his wife and daughter; but it appears more probable that the cause of his disgrace and condemnation was very different; that he wrote a treatise on the sphere of *Sacrobosco*, or Holywood, a mathematician of Halifax, in Yorkshire, wherein he affirmed that the heavenly spheres are inhabited by races of malignant spirits, which by enchantments might be made to do many wonderful things; that the courses of the stars necessitate human events, the birth of Christ included, as well as His poverty and death; that Antichrist would come into the world in obedience to the same necessity.

Monstrous as these assertions were, they were no more than natural consequences of the first principles of astrology; and it was therefore cruel for the Church to allow professorships of the pretended science in Universities, leaving every one at liberty to teach or learn it, and yet condemn those who used this liberty, so far as to maintain propositions which inevitably result from the pagan fatalism they were encouraged to promulgate or accept.

The Inquisitor of Bologna sent his brother at Florence a report of the sentence pronounced against Cecco in the former city; and on the 15th of December, 1327, the astro-

loger was openly condemned as a heretic in the church of the Friars-Minors, and delivered over to the secular authority to be duly punished. A book he had written in verse, under the title of *Acerba*, was to be burnt at the same time, and all who read it were to be excommunicated. On the same day the Governor's lieutenant "forthwith sent Master Cecco in custody of his knight and servants, and in presence of a great multitude of people, to be burnt; thus to signify the death eternal wherewith he and all such will be punished."

Tiraboschi,\* whom I follow, doubts the guilt of Cecco; and supposes that he fell a victim to the envy of one Dino, who could not rest until he saw his rival put out of the way. This, however, is a question of no importance, since it is enough to have produced this instance of inquisitorial severity, incited rather by private passions than by an honest care for preservation of the faith.

Albano and Cecco, we may also observe, were persecuted singly; and the latter perished alone. No general inquisition of dogmatizing astrologers was made, nor any crusade preached to extirpate their followers. All this was reserved for dissenters from the dominant Church, who were hunted down like brute beasts; and thus did the Inquisition ravage Italy, not so much by the ordinary procedure of its tribunals, as by making use of every occasion of political disquiet, and by fanning the flames of cupidity and fanaticism. A remnant of those who had been driven from Sicily in the preceding century sprang up there again; and we find Gregory XI. praising the city of Palermo for having bestowed an annual salary of twelve ounces of gold on their Inquisitor, Simon Pureano, (A.D. 1375,) while he urges the Bishop of Turin to crush a sect called Bricaraxii, who had multiplied in that diocese. The result of this injunction was not very agreeable to the Inquisition. One Fra Antonio, a Dominican, famous in Turin and the neighbourhood both as preacher and Inquisitor, was leaving church after delivering a sermon and saying mass, on the Sunday after Easter, (A.D. 1375,) when a party of twelve men surrounded him,

\* *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, tomo v., parte i., lib. 2.

plunged their daggers into his body, and left him dead on the spot.

Less than two months before, another Inquisitor had been assassinated at Susa ; but the avengers of blood shed by the Inquisition, instead of delivering their countrymen from its oppression, aggravated the evil, by providing the Pope and his clergy with pretence for proclaiming a renewed crusade. Little work, however, remained for crusaders ; for the resorts of heretics were broken up in Italy.

The Inquisition now gave its attention to those writings that might contribute to revive the sects it had suppressed. The writings of the kind most widely circulated at that time appear to have been those of Raymund Lully, a native of Majorca, by birth a Jew, and eventually a Franciscan friar. This remarkable man had spent his life in striving to convert the Moors in Africa, and to lay the foundation of Oriental studies in Europe, and fell a victim to his zeal for winning over the African Mussulmans, some of whom stoned him to death. He had composed twenty-one works, philosophical, religious, and miscellaneous, which were too suggestive of new ideas to be allowed to circulate. Nicholas Eymeric, the noted Inquisitor often named in this volume, presented the books to Gregory XI., praying that they might be examined. Twenty-four theologians, with a bishop at their head, made the examination, and condemned them as containing many things heretical and blasphemous.

This assemblage of censors at Rome confirmed the precedent, as I should suppose, for the Congregation of the Index subsequently created, and acting in agreement with the Congregation of the Holy Office. But no sooner has the solemn censorship of books begun at Rome, than the censors encounter a succession of writings whose influence no earthly power can resist.



## CHAPTER XXXIII.

## ITALY: FIFTEENTH CENTURY AND ONWARDS.

THE Inquisition in Italy was nearly dormant from the time of its last effort in Piedmont, until the reign of Pope Calixtus III., who republished (A.D. 1458) a Bull of Innocent IV., empowering the Inquisitors in Lombardy to publish a crusade, and to confer on cross-bearers against heretics at home indulgences equal to those which had been granted to crusaders against Mussulmans in the Holy Land. But the spirit of that age had changed; and although the scandal of the Cross was undiminished, and the few confessors of Christ still suffered tribulation in the world, there was, in the world, a growing indisposition to fight the battles of the priesthood; and many of the more eminent clergy, from the time of the Council of Florence, and the immigration of the Greeks, became more diligent in prosecuting Grecian and Latin studies than in reading the senseless theology of later centuries, or in the censorship of religious books, or making inquest concerning faith.

After several ineffectual efforts to establish a regular Inquisition in the Alps, John Archbishop of Embrun, a bold yet cautious and persevering man, undertook (A.D. 1461) to extirpate the Waldensian Church by dint of "monitions, exhortations, and injunctions;" but difficulties met him at every step, and he prudently delayed the employment of any violent measures. Eleven years afterwards, a Minorite Friar, deputed "by apostolic authority" to act as Inquisitor in the Valleys, pursued the usual routine, so far as practicable, and thereby arrived at certain knowledge of the doctrines that multitudes of the inhabitants entertained.

But he presumed not to go any further, the whole population being hostile to measures of persecution.

At Rome, however, the purpose to maintain by force the ascendancy of the Papal See, and by force to crush every hostile power that might arise against the Church within her own borders, continued steadfast; and while the Inquisitors were almost idle for want of work to do, or powerless in those places which they would have gladly visited, an important step in advance was taken by the revocation of cases of heresy to the Pope himself for ultimate decision, with reservation of certain offences to be absolved by the Pope only, on payment of office-fees at Rome. One of those reservations is the power of absolution from crimes of heresy, which Paul II. made for himself and his successors. (A.D. 1468.) The law is to be found in the *Extravagantes*,\* is currently quoted by the canonists, is acted on at present, so far as people can be now found to spend money upon absolutions, and was for ages at the foundation of the boasted supremacy and universality of the Inquisition.

The immediate successor of Paul II. was Xystus IV., a busy, politic, and ambitious Pontiff, whose reign furnishes at least one inquisitorial anecdote, just enough to show how little care was taken of Christianity itself by the most jealous guardians of the Papacy.

*Galeotto Marnio*, of Narni, a man of considerable eminence for learning, wit, pugilistic powers, and bulk of person, had the good fortune to be favourably remembered by Xystus, who in his younger days had heard him lecture in the University of Padua. Galeotto did not err, like the astrologers, through excess in belief, but was of another class, very numerous, whose fault was unbelief. This man wrote a book on Sacred and Moral Philosophy, in which he maintained that whoever lives according to the light of reason and the law of nature is sure of gaining eternal happiness. The monks at Venice accused him of heresy. His own writing was evidence in confirmation of the charge; and, to borrow the statement of Sanuto,† the Inquisitor of heretical pravity having informed the Signory that one Galeotto

\* *Extravagantes Communes*, lib. v., cap. ix., tit. 8.

† Muratori, *Script. Rer. Ital.*, tom. xxii., p. 1206.

Marnio, a learned man, very clever and very fat, then at Montagnana, was a heretic, and one who thought very ill of the faith, demanded of their lordships the secular arm. They therefore commanded him to be arrested and thrown into prison. The Inquisitor said that he had written a certain book which was damnable, and had carried this book into Hungary and Bohemia, where he had many followers. The case having been heard, they condemned Galeotto to be mounted on a scaffold, with a crown of devils on his head,—or high paper cap painted with devils all round,—while the sentence of the Inquisition was read, his book burnt, and he openly censured for what he had said or written against the Church. This being done, he was to be sent to prison for six months, and kept on bread and water by way of penance,—appropriate penance for a high liver. The sentence was executed. A scaffold was raised in one of the squares of Venice, and thereupon were seated the Inquisitor and members of the Board of Inquisition, all in state. Galeotto was led out of prison duly crowned, brought across the square, and presented to their lordships. One of the spectators, as he made his appearance, involuntarily ejaculated, "How fat!" Turning to the speaker, Galeotto answered sharply, "Better be a fat pig than a lean goat." He showed himself on the scaffold, walked back to prison, and lived well there, no doubt, for a day or two.

Xystus IV. did for this obese jester what he never would have done for the most virtuous confessor of the Saviour, whom he set at nought. He commanded him to be liberated from prison, received him at Rome, declared him innocent of heresy, and covered him with honours. This occurred in 1477.

They were more in earnest when dealing with truly Christian people. The indefatigable Archbishop of Embrun, having watched one-and-twenty years for opportunity, and surrounded himself with ninety familiars, besides many others who aided him secretly, "took new information," by which it appeared that all the inhabitants of the valley of Fraissiniere, and many in other valleys, were of "most infamous repute," and vehemently suspected to be members of "the said heretical sect" of the Waldenses. Following out this information, and making the best use of his body of familiars, the

Archbishop-Inquisitor ventured (A.D. 1486) to publish what they would call in Spain an Edict of the Faith, commanding all who were conscious of heresy to come with a spontaneous confession within a time appointed. But "they neglected to obey." That monition was published on the eighteenth day of June. It was repeated on the twenty-ninth of the same month, and again on the ninth of July ; but none were moved to spontaneous confession. In the month of August, "the aforesaid most reverend Lord Archbishop John commanded all that were suspected—mentioning them *by name*—to be cited to answer for their faith, offering them grace if they would return to the bosom of the Church ; but they all contumaciously neglected." On the fifteenth of September the Archbishop gave "letters patent and excommunicatory," on account of their "perfidy and stubborn contumacy." Two days were spent in publishing the excommunication, "which they bore until the sixth of February, 1487, and continued yet much longer contumacious. Among them was one called Angelino Palloni, who now laboured with all his might to conceal the truth with lies. *And this is true*," as the Inquisitor who made the record\* asseverates at the close of every paragraph.

On the Italian side the Inquisition had more power. *Giordano Tertian* was burnt at Susa, and *Hippolito Roussiere* at Turin. In the same city *Hugo Champ de Finestrelles* was disembowelled, and his mutilated body exposed to public insult. In one valley three thousand persons were murdered, either slain by the sword, or smothered by fires lighted at the mouths of caves, whither they had gone for refuge.

The report of those butcheries overawed many, no doubt, but it also roused the indignation of every Italian whose spirit was not utterly broken. This was manifest in Brescia, where the Inquisitor Antonio di Brescia, in conjunction with the Bishop or his Vicar-General, condemned some men and women, as impenitent heretics, to be delivered to the secular arm for burning, "and required the officers of the city of Brescia to fulfil the appointed execution ; but the said officers,"—I quote from a Brief of Innocent VIII.,—"to

\* Given at length by Dr. Allix in his "Remarks upon the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont."

the no small scandal of the orthodox faith, refused to minister justice, and execute the said sentences, unless they might first see the processes which had been carried on by the Bishop and Inquisitor." This drew a mandate from the Pope, who contended that as the crime of heresy was ecclesiastical, and as crimes of the sort should not on any account go unpunished, he instructed the Inquisitor and Bishop to command them, under pain of excommunication, to kill the persons condemned within six days. The Brief was dated at Rome, September 30th, 1486. I do not know the effect of this injunction.

This is not the place to narrate the crusade on the Waldenses in the archdiocese of Embrun, conducted by Albert de Capitaneis, whom Innocent VIII. sent to the Duke of Savoy as Nuncio from the Apostolic See, to demand troops for the intended massacre. Yet it should be noted that an Inquisitor went with the Nuncio, to represent that institution of the Church of Rome which, as long as it could, directed the murder of those who were counted as its enemies.

Florence, with its turbulent and uncertain liberty, had not cast off the servility of its ancient statutes, and the civil power still inflicted vengeance on whomsoever ecclesiastical accusers might condemn. But it made a show of independence by employing laymen to take part in the trial of persons accused of heresy. Of this we have a memorable instance in the examination and execution of *Savonarola*. A copy of the process, published some years ago from a manuscript in the Magliabecchian Library in that city,\* supplies the following particulars:—

The lords of Florence solemnly elected and deputed "special and prudent men to be commissaries and examiners in their name. Sixteen persons, all Florentine citizens, met together on the ninth of April, 1498, in the presence of Simone Rucellai and Tommaso Arnoldi, Florentine canons, acting in the capacity of commissaries for Pope Alexander VI. by a special commission. These persons proceeded exactly as regular Inquisitors would have done. On the first day they questioned Savonarola, but without torture. On

\* Giudici. Appendice, *ut supra*.

the second, they examined him in the hall over the Bargello prison, "first with words, then with threats, then with torture; and he had, on that day, three and a half stretchings on the rack, twice given." Then, on eight successive days, they prosecuted the examination "with words and comforts, without any torment or lesion of body." There is a pretended record of this examination; but as it is known to be falsified throughout, I do not quote it. The attestations are, in the first place, those of Savonarola himself, who is represented as appending to the documents, "I freely confess that I am guilty of all that *is written* above, and in the other twenty-three papers preceding by *one hand*." But instead of *è scritto*, "is written," it should be *ho scritto*, "I have written;" and instead of *una mano*, "one hand," it should be *mia mano*, "my hand." This makes an entire difference, and is a very good example of notarial falsification, which, no doubt, was of frequent occurrence. Eight ecclesiastics, secular and regular, and of various ranks, subscribed at length, as having been present all the time, showing that the Papal commissaries appointed their assessors, ten clerics and sixteen laymen, twenty-six in all. On the 20th and 22d of May, smaller companies, but similarly constituted, conducted further examinations. The General of the Dominicans and the Auditor of the Governor of Rome, Francesco Romolino, were, on these days, the Pope's commissaries.

It will be remembered by those who have read the history of Fra Girolamo Savonarola, that two of his brethren of the Convent of St. Mark were associated with him, and put to death at the same time; and I cannot refrain from translating the brief notes that close this record of their martyrdom in the cause of Christian liberty.

*"On the 23d of the same May.*

<p>"FRA GIROLAMO, "FRA DOMENICO, "FRA SALVESTRO,</p>	}	<p>At 13 o'clock were degraded, and then burnt in the Piazza of the Signori.</p>
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"The General and Messer Francesco above named gave the sentence desired. Ser Ranieri da San Gimignano.

"The tenor of the sentence was, that the Commissaries

Apostolic, having understood that the above-named have committed the crimes narrated above in the interrogatories put to Fra Girolamo on the 20th, and having found them to be heretics and schismatics, and to have preached things new, &c., judged that they ought to be degraded and consigned to, or, rather, left in the hand of the secular judge. And so it followed."

As to Florence, then, a mixed Commission, representing the Pope and the Republic, acted instead of the Inquisition; and, in fact, this is the type of a practical condemnation of the secret system of that tribunal that was continued in the Dukedom of Tuscany until its recent absorption into the Kingdom of Italy, and has been in some degree realized wherever Romanism has retained its ecclesiastical predominance, except in the Papal States, so long as they continued.

It happened, when the Jews were driven from Spain, and a remnant that survived the perils and waste of transport made their appearance on the banks of the Tiber, that the Pope was pleased to allow them to enter on the patrimony of St. Peter, and live. Some early writers, caught by this appearance of charity in the Pope of the day, compared his conduct with that of Ferdinand and Isabella, to his great advantage; and many, by repeating the encomium then circulated, and perhaps further deceived by a show of comparative lenity in the inquisitions of the Papal States, have helped to strengthen an erroneous impression that the Roman Inquisition has been distinguished from others by a moderation very nearly approaching to humanity. A fact or two of history, related by one of their great annalists, (Bzovius,) might remove the false impression.

In the year 1498—very soon after the extension of Roman hospitality to those poor Jews—two hundred and thirty Marranos, or Moors, who had renounced their compulsory profession of Christianity, so called, in Spain, and were therefore driven from the country, came to Rome, but were soon detected, reported to the Holy Office, and thrown into prisons. At length, however, they once more submitted to repeat their false confession, and were solemnly received into the Roman Church by Alexander VI. If any of them had persisted in refusing to do so, they would have been

burnt to death, or left to die in prison. They preferred to live under the name of "Catholic," and were absolved and reconciled with great ceremony; but an offender of superior station was at that time under discipline in Rome.

*Pedro de Aranda*, Bishop of Calahorra, in Spain, and Major-domo of the Pope, lay in prison, accused of the heresy of the Marranos. Alexander VI. appointed a board of high ecclesiastics to hear and determine on his case. Many witnesses were examined on part of the Fiscal, and no fewer than a hundred and one on part of Aranda. From such a multitude of depositions, the judges could easily gather enough to serve their purpose; and at length, on Friday, September 14th, the day of the Holy Cross, the commissaries laid their summary before the Pope, as Chief Inquisitor, in secret consistory; the honour of being judged in that court being rendered to an officer of the apostolic palace. "Which being heard, Alexander, with counsel of the most reverend lords the Cardinals, deprived Aranda of the episcopal dignity, and of all benefices and offices, and deposed him, and degraded him from every order. The said Peter, being thus deprived, deposed, and degraded, was at length thrown into a chamber of the Castle of St. Angelo, there to endure an imprisonment," that was, of course, perpetual. His theology was probably unsound, but his practices were yet more offensive to that most licentious Pontiff and his court. "He laughed at indulgences," says a biographer; "ate flesh on Friday and Sabbath (Saturday); breakfasted before saying mass; and denied purgatory."

During the latter part of the fifteenth century, and the first thirty years of the sixteenth, we find little to relate of the Inquisition in Italy, beyond what may be summed up in a few lines.

In Sicily, the King of Spain, then sovereign of that island, endeavoured to introduce the rules of the Spanish Inquisition; but his emissaries were obliged to retreat, the inhabitants being united in resistance. The spirit of independence had been strong enough in Italy to obtain seats for the bishops, and even for laymen, in the Holy Office; and the *Secret*, perhaps in consequence of their intervention, was not enforced so rigidly as in Spain.



In the Venetian territory, Inquisitors who attempted to act alone could not obtain help of the magistrates, who refused to execute sentences passed without their concurrence; and at Brescia, again, the people, emboldened by the refusal of the magistrates, had, once at least, cut short the matter by driving away the Inquisitors.

Naples, although a realm of Spain, like Sicily, also refused to admit the Spanish Inquisition, or any other tribunal conducted by a distinct body, apart from the ordinaries.

Lombardy, Piedmont, and the states of northern and central Italy, had been long surrendered to inquisitorial government; and the *aliter credentes*, or persons differing from those of the dominant religion, hid themselves in the mountains, or by outward conformity to the rites of Romanism concealed their dissent; but, by the habit of concealment, continued from generation to generation, they must have lost all truthful and manly simplicity. Nor were they the only sufferers. The confessional and clerical celibacy destroyed morality, and the Inquisition, by provoking a reaction against all that bears the name of Christian, destroyed faith, and induced among the higher classes of both clergy and laity a pagan infidelity. Of this Pope Leo X., although he issued a Bull (A.D. 1513) for the maintenance of orthodoxy in Universities, was an example; and as for the lower classes, they were pervaded with the grossest superstition. If the censures of the clergy were not utterly calumnious, magic, sorcery, witchcraft, infanticide, incest, devil-worship, and every conceivable kind of abomination, were as familiar to the lower classes as was atheism to Leo X., and lewdness to Alexander VI. Nor could it be otherwise. The natural result of an Inquisition is the extinction of all faith.

Leo X., notwithstanding his admiration of excellence in painters, and his disposition to patronize poets, entertained as profound a dislike of innovation on the doctrine of the Church as became a Pope. Acknowledging, indeed, that learning might be attained by help of books, and that the art of printing might be very useful, inasmuch as many printed books might be had for comparatively little money; and that even profane literature might be skilfully made

subservient to the cause of Christianity; he said that a complaint had fallen on his ear that certain masters of the art of printing, in various parts of the world, had printed books, translated from Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, into Latin; and that they had dared to publish others, both in Latin and in vulgar tongues, containing errors in faith, and pernicious dogmas contrary to Christianity, and injurious to the fame of persons illustrious in dignity.

Lest thorns should choke the good seed, and poisonous herbs grow up together with the medicinal, it behoved him to be vigilant. With the approbation, therefore, of the Fifth Council of Lateran, then sitting, he wished to provide an opportune remedy; and that the printing of books might thenceforth be conducted more happily, he determined and ordained "that in all times to come no one should print, or cause to be printed, any book or other writing, either in Rome or any other city or diocese whatever, unless it were first approved, if in Rome, by the Pope's Vicar and Master of the Sacred Palace; or, in other cities and dioceses, by the bishop, or some other person having understanding \* of science. Books or writings proposed to be printed were to be diligently examined by the bishop or his delegate, *and by the Inquisitor of heretical pravity*, in the city or diocese where it was to be put to press, and approved by subscription under their own hand, to be given without fee, without delay, and under sentence of excommunication." The penalties of disobedience were, loss of the books unlawfully printed, and therefore to be burnt publicly, a fine of a hundred ducats to swell the fund

\* A reasonable qualification. But even in the pontificate of Leo X. it must have been easier to prescribe understanding than to administer. Only a few years earlier, when the Prince Giovan Pico della Mirandola had maintained nine hundred propositions at Rome, derived from Chaldean, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin authors, and relating to theology, mathematics, natural history, magic, the Cabbala, and other sciences, real or reputed, the Roman scholars, bewildered by his erudition, surmised that he must assuredly be a heretic. The Censors of the Faith laboured hard over his nine hundred propositions, and extracted just thirteen which they thought capable of affording evidence of heresy. The prince was censured as temerarious and suspected. But he presumed, as a temerarious person might presume, to write a defence of himself, and even to put some questions to the Censors. "What," said he, "is Cabbala?" "Cabbala," answered one of the learned Inquisitors, "was a wicked heretic, who wrote against Christ. The Cabbalists are a sect who follow him."

for building the Church of St. Peter, suspension from the exercise of printing for one year, and such other inflictions as the transgressor might incur by contumacy. This order was given in a public session of the Council on May 12th, 1515.

This Fifth of Lateran is acknowledged by the Church of Rome to be a General Council: the regulation then made for placing the universal press at the mercy of Inquisitors was adopted by the Council of Trent, is amplified in the Rules of the Indexes of prohibited Books, and Books to be expurgated, and is now cited as the fundamental authority for all such coercive proceedings as the clergy can venture upon in countries where they have any degree of power. It is a part of Canon Law which Pius IX., the present Pope, declares to be binding on his clergy in the British dominions, and which they are bound to enforce, so far as by their influence or their assumed position they may find it practicable. *So far* they are at perfect liberty to execute their master's pleasure.

This Council did not confine itself to books, but ordained that "all false Christians, and those who think ill concerning faith, *of whatever people or nation they may be*, as well as heretics, or persons polluted with any stain of heresy, or Judaizers, be utterly excluded from the company of believers in Christ, and expelled *from every place*, and especially from the Roman Court, and punished with due severity." And it was the pleasure of the Pope and Council that the *relapsed* should be dealt with "*without any hope of pardon or of remission.*"

We now proceed to survey the Roman Inquisition under its assumed character of "supreme and universal," and to observe its rise into a position of central power, absorbing, and even rendering less necessary, the provincial courts.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### ITALY: THE ROMAN CONGREGATION.

AT the very same time that Paul III., no longer able to prevent the assemblage of a Council for the Reformation of Christendom, was reluctantly engaged in preparing to convene the bishops and others in a town of the Tyrol, he was quietly preparing a new Inquisition, to be conducted on surer principles, having Rome as its seat and centre of government, and the outermost bounds of the Popedom for its circumference. A comparison of dates demonstrates that at the very same time that the Germans were invited and almost implored to attend the Council, as if to give their advice on the subject of religion, just a quarter of a century after the publication of Luther's theses, and to meet with some concession on the part of Rome, the Court of Rome was fully determined on crushing the Reformation, if it could be crushed by the systematic employment of all the force at their command. The dates are these. The Bull of Indiction for the Council of Trent, May 22d, 1542. A Constitution for the establishment of a Supreme and Universal Inquisition at Rome, July 21st, 1542. The Council was to meet in November of the same year, by which time the new inquisitorial system would be in full action. The Council began its debates—without the Germans—in 1545; but the new Inquisition anticipated every doctrinal conclusion by commencing its deadly operations in Italy in 1543. Its establishment and constitution must be now described.

The Pope declared in the latter document that, from the beginning of his pontificate, he had entertained a fixed purpose to drive away all heresy; but, in spite of all that he could do, bad men still persisted in their wickedness. Nevertheless, hoping that the authority of a General Council might

awe them into submission to the faith, he had put off the business of inquisition of that kind of heretical pravity until that day. Why he was that day in so great haste to take the matter out of the hands of the Council, and that in contradiction to the practice of his predecessors, he did not condescend to say; but all the world knows that a majority of the Council of Trent, even under all its Italian influences, could hardly have been found, that would agree to a universal Inquisition, governed by the Curials at Rome, or to any Court of similar pretensions. It is also well known that the Pope's legates at that Council were the men who *proposed* every subject of deliberation, after previous correspondence with Rome, and authority or instructions received thence, determining afterwards to manage the debate, or to stop it when they could not guide; and that the subject of Inquisition was one of the subjects they never ventured to introduce.\*

In framing his Constitution, therefore, the Pope lost sight of the Council, after merely observing that it could not yet be assembled; and "lest, while a Council was in expectation, all things should grow worse and worse," and being himself unable to transact all business, especially while under the pressure of so many cares, he named and appointed six cardinals to be Commissaries and Inquisitors-General and Most General (*generalissimos*) in all cities, towns, lands, and places of the Christian Republic, on both sides of the Alps, to act, under apostolical authority, as his delegates. Whoever wandered "from the way of the Lord," and from the paths of Catholic faith, *thinking* evil of that faith, or were in any way, or in any degree, suspected of heresy, together with their followers, abettors, or defenders, who gave their aid or counsel, directly or indirectly, publicly or privately,—all persons, of whatever state or dignity, low or high,—were to be subject to their universal jurisdiction. And lest persecution should be retarded, or inquisitorial

\* The dislike manifested to the Inquisition in the Council of Trent on two memorable occasions deserves the attention of the studious reader:—once, when an attempt to establish it in Naples provoked an insurrection in the city; and again, when a similar attempt was proposed for the Milanese. Fra Paolo Sarpi, as translated and annotated by Courayer, gives a full view of the subject. —*Histoire du Concile de Trente*, iii., 5; viii., 42.

fury mitigated, lest the clergy in any city, town-land, or place, should interpose to protect their flock from the incursion of Roman robbers, Paul ordained that the six cardinals should act, "even without the ordinaries of places, and act even in causes wherein those ordinaries had a right to intervene." By his own supreme right he decreed that the Most General Inquisitors should proceed officially, by way of inquest, investigation, or otherwise; imprisoning all guilty or suspected persons, proceeding against them until final sentence, punishing with due penalties those whom they convicted, and, "as was just, taking possession of the property of condemned persons who had suffered death."

The new Universal Roman Inquisition was to have a fiscal, a proctor, public notaries, and other necessary officers, who might be priests, or monks of any order. After they had condemned any priest or other ordained person as impenitent or as relapsed, it would be their duty to require some bishop or other dignitary to degrade him; and in case of disobedience or delay they might compel obedience by ecclesiastical censures. For putting condemned heretics to death, Paul armed them with spiritual power—so far as that power could avail—to command and compel the secular arm to slay the victims whom they marked. Their new prerogative extended to the appointment of Inquisitors where, and when, and as often as they pleased, to hear appeals and give ultimate decisions,—the graces of absolution and reconciliation being reserved to the Pope himself,—and to cite and inhibit in all parts of the world. Then followed a withdrawal of power and authority from all other judges; which was plainly enough an arrogation to himself and his Commissaries of the power of life and death over the subjects of every sovereign in the world!

Not attributing to Jesuits every plot against Protestants, I cannot but note a statement of the Jesuit historian Orlandino. "Ignatius," (founder of the order,) "admonished by these troubles," (the religious awakenings in Italy,) "having found an opportunity of conversation with the Pope, not only related to him how great confusion had arisen at Parma from wicked men, but also how great a stain on the Christian Republic was spreading itself in Venice and at Modena; and pointed

out that unless that could be quickly brought to an end, it would overrun the whole of Italy. He also repeated the same most seriously and frequently to many cardinals, especially to Burgensis and Theatimus, to whom the Pope had committed the care of watching against this pestilence. Moved by their authority, as well as by the deference that he paid to the judgment of Ignatius, and under the influence of great fear lest the poison lingering in the veins should diffuse itself through the noblest members of the Church, the Pope conceived the plan of a sort of new Tribunal, to consist of aged cardinals, excelling in zeal and wisdom, who might make inquest with supreme power on heretics and depraved persons." \* Excepting fits of occasional jealousy, the most perfect harmony has prevailed between the sister societies.

To obviate jealousy in Spain against this sort of new Tribunal, the Spanish Inquisition was exempted from the direct control of the Roman Congregation. This exemption was obviously suggested by the known unwillingness of that body to submit to the dictation of the Court of Rome, and by the spirit of national independence that has often been repressed, but is never quenched in the bosom of a true Spaniard. Neither was the direct control of this Congregation necessary in regard to heretics in Spain, so long as the Pope himself, sure to act with the concurrence of his cardinals, appointed the Spanish Inquisitor-General; and so long as the King and Court of Spain were pre-eminent in enmity toward the Reformation.

The Italian clergy, although nearer home, were not so well trusted in Rome as the Spanish for fighting heretics. Yet the Spanish priests were not so trustworthy as they seemed; for a secret spread of evangelical doctrine had taken place in the parishes and convents of Spain, and was not yet discovered. While, therefore, inquisitorial powers had their centre within the walls of Rome, new orders were thence communicated to the Inquisitors in the extra-Roman States of Italy. Clement VII. had pointed out the friars of Lombardy as infected with heresy, at least twelve years before this time. It was reported to him that they were preaching it openly; and he commanded the Inquisitors to

\* *Orlandini Hist. Societ. Jesu*, pars i., lib. iv.

take measures against some of them, as under suspicion of Lutheranism. The clergy of Bologna and Milan, like the corporate bodies of old chartered towns, then enjoyed many exemptions from superior jurisdiction, some granted by Popes, and others, perhaps in order to obtain their assistance against the laity, conceded by Inquisitors ; but Paul III., when devising this new Tribunal, had opened the way for its action in Bologna and Milan by abolishing those privileges, (January 14th, 1542,) under the pretence that preachers in those states had presumed to maintain scandalous and heretical propositions in disputations and in sermons.

To extinguish the memory of old or Jewish superstitions, and to establish the peculiar superstition of his Church more expeditiously in the neophytes, or newly-proselyted Jews, he stirred up the clergy and Inquisitors everywhere to a more vigorous and minute examination into their domestic habits. (March 21st, 1542.) And he induced Charles V., perhaps in return for the useless gratification of a General Council, to decree the establishment of an Inquisition in Sicily, after the Spanish model. (A.D. 1543.) The Sicilians at first resisted, but eventually gave way.

The new Cardinal-Inquisitors were not slow in using their powers. Not failing to make inquest on living heretics, as we shall presently see, they sought to make their ground good by silencing the press, which speaks on while authors die. Many books would be destroyed, no doubt, and many more disfigured ; but multitudes of books, pamphlets, and letters were circulated throughout Italy, in spite of prohibitions. There were clandestine presses at work in all directions, especially in the northern states. Printers, when forbidden to carry on their business, walked abroad during the years of interdict, like men who had no vocation at home ; but their wives, and daughters, and servants, composed the forms, and worked the presses in secret. Books without name of printer or of place were in every hand ; and people read them all the more attentively and profitably because they were forbidden. The public, by willing ignorance, covered the printers, and buried the secret. The cardinals fancied themselves omnipotent, except that they were not able to make inquisition in person. Therefore they confided



the superintendence of that service to a reverend father, Tommaso Maria di Bologna, Inquisitor over the cities of Ferrara and Modena. They empowered him and his substitutes to visit all libraries, offices, churches, monasteries, and private houses, search for books, burn the bad ones, and enforce on all booksellers, printers, officers of customs, and other delinquents, the penalties of forfeiture, stripes, fine, suspension of trade, imprisonment, or banishment, in proportion to the degree or the numbers of their offences in contravention of the new order. (July, 1543.)

It is not improbable that this search after prohibited books was a first measure, perhaps the first, that led to the inquisition on *persons*, of which we have a few examples.

The Venetian magistrates, contented with the singular privilege of superintending the inquisition of their fellow-citizens, gave Rome no cause to deprive them of that honour. The state of things at Venice is described in a letter to Luther from Baltassare Altieri, an Italian attached to the British Legation in that city. He wrote just four months after the final appointment of the Congregation of Cardinals, in these words: "The fury of Antichrist rages here daily more and more against the elect of God. Many are proscribed, of whom some are said to have gone to the distant provinces, some to Basil and other parts of Switzerland, others into the neighbouring regions" of the Alps; "and many have been seized, and are pining away in perpetual imprisonment. But there is no one to deliver the innocent, none to do justice to the poor man and the orphan, none to maintain the glory of Christ. All conspire together to oppress the Lord and His anointed; and nowhere is this calamity more cruel and prevalent than in Venice itself, where Antichrist is dominant, and, while using open violence, possesses all his goods in peace. Wicked one that he is! Son of perdition! Author of sin! That signal thief and most hungry of wolves slaughters and destroys the Lord's flock at his pleasure, and without restraint. But we cease not to pray God that He would send a stronger than he, who may come and bind him, take away all the weapons in which he now so confidently trusts, and strip him of the spoils." We further gather from this letter that the

preachers had been silenced, but that many of them were concealed in the city, hoping for the effect of intercession by Protestant princes of Germany with the Doge and his government, or for some favourable change, when the promised Council should meet.\*

But no help came from those quarters. From the correspondence of the Cardinals Pole and Contarini, we gather that their Eminences had a "sacred piece of work" to do—*sanctum quoddam negotium*, says Pole—at Modena. This is explained by an Italian editor of Pole's Epistles to be the suppression of an insurrection in Modena, provoked by the doings of the Inquisitors there. Father Tommaso Maria did his best, no doubt, and the civil authorities helped him according to the measure of their zeal; but it required an Apostolic Letter from Paul III. to induce them to arrest one whom the Pope described as the leader of an insurrection against his Inquisitor, to throw him into prison, and send up his books and papers to Rome.†

In Tuscany the secular arm was uplifted to inflict the sentences of those ferocious keepers of the faith. Severe penalties were enacted on the possessors of heretical books, as well as on the printers; and after the usual searchings, arrests, and processes, it was determined to edify the Tuscans by an Act of Faith at Florence, resembling a Spanish *Auto*. Twenty-two persons were therefore brought out in procession, with the usual apparel of ignominious penance; and it is noted that among them was *Bartolommeo Panchicerichi*, a gentleman who had served the Duke of Tuscany as ambassador at the Court of France. They underwent shameful exhibition in the cathedral; and a company of women, by way of giving diversity to the inquisitorial triumph, appeared in like manner in the church of St. Simone. (A.D. 1556.)

But commerce could not prosper, and the Inquisition range, within the same field. The merchant city was filled with terror and mistrust. Foreigners, being eyed with suspicion as innovators in religion, and haunted with incessant vexations whenever they appeared in Florence, ceased to frequent a mart where familiars dogged their steps, and their

\* Seckendorf, *Comm. de Luth.*, lib. iii., sect. 25, § xevii.

† Gerdes. *Spec. Ital. Reform.*, xxxvii.

ships no longer gladdened the course of the Arno. The merchants became poor. The inhabitants emigrated. Artists and literary men shunned the halls of the Medici. The more earnest Protestants took refuge in Germany and England; and the less instructed, left without shepherds, perished for lack of knowledge.

The desperate resistance of the Neapolitans to an attempted introduction of the Roman Inquisition into that city, in the year 1547, furnished a terrific episode in Italian history. The Viceroy endeavoured to compel the citizens to accept the Tribunal by military force. He one day marched a body of three thousand Spanish soldiers into Naples to quell a riot which his proclamation for its erection had provoked. The soldiers fought desperately, but the people were infuriated; and before the bells could ring for evening prayers for the souls in purgatory, the last of the three thousand had fallen, and their bodies, heaped together with a greater number of Italians, choked the streets. This carnage was to testify, at the same time, to the brutality of the Inquisitors, and to the horror of the so-called holy and equitable Roman Inquisition which was entertained all over Italy. It was too well known by this time to be thought a shade less diabolical than that of Lisbon or Valladolid.

By the indefatigable activity of the Cardinal-Inquisitors, headed by the Pope, who required the civil power everywhere to support the Holy Office, Lutheranism, as they called the reviving Christianity of that time, died away; and Socinianism, that had been for some time springing up, killed most of the vitality that remained.

In Sicily, Philip II. of Spain outran his predecessor, being swifter-footed in shedding blood; and the chief men of the island, the very men who, twelve years before, had driven away an Inquisitor, burnt his papers, and beaten his underlings, being now charmed with privileges, offered them by the Spanish Nero, themselves became familiars and patrons of the renovated Institution, built prisons at their own expense, and salaried the officers. Vain is the help of man! Over violence Romanism by violence can always triumph, because she knows how to use violence with greater skill. Protestantism, too, when it degenerates into Socinianism,

becomes a Christianity so false, that it had better by far die than live.

A few good men, however, survived the wreck of the Reformation in Italy, and were sacrificed one by one. Such were the following :—

*Fannio*, a pious and learned man, was hung at Florence, and then burnt, on the Pope's demand, in the year 1550.

*Dominico* suffered violent death at Piacenza, about the same time, praying for his persecutors.

*Galeazzo Treccio*, after enduring imprisonment and questioning, probably with torture, bore witness to the truth as it is in Jesus, and was burnt alive in a town of the Milanese. (A.D. 1551.)

*Giovanni di Montalcino*, an eminent man, once Professor of Metaphysics in the University of Bologna, and a faithful expositor of the New Testament, was burnt alive in Rome. (A.D. 1553.)

*Francesco Gambia*, of Brescia, for having joined in an act of evangelical communion at Geneva, was taken, when crossing the Lake of Como on his way homeward, condemned by the Inquisitors of Como, strangled, and then beheaded, and his body burnt. (A.D. 1554.)

*Pomponio Algieri*, of Capua, a devout Christian, became known in the Academy of Padua, was arrested and imprisoned in Venice ; but, not being a Venetian, was given up to the Cardinal-Inquisitors, and burnt alive in Rome for their entertainment and the pleasure of Paul IV. (A.D. 1555.)

*Varaglia*, a Capuchin friar, Inquisitor, and son of an Inquisitor ; one who had signalized himself in killing Waldenses. This man, while striving to make himself master of the controversy between Rome and the Reformed Churches, had been converted to the truth and service of the Lord Jesus Christ, and soon fell into the hands of his former brethren, who burnt him in Turin. (A.D. 1557.)

*Luigi Pascal*, an itinerant preacher among the scattered Christians of Calabria, was taken to Rome, condemned by their Eminences, and burnt outside the Castle of St. Angelo in their presence, the Pope presiding at the ceremony. (A.D.

1560.) This must be the person of whom Sacchini speaks,\* calling him a very confident and cunning master of impiety, sent from Geneva to Rome, the chief seat of religion, that there he might vitiate the truth at its fountain-head. He says that the man was taken, put into irons, and condemned to fire. Hardened and stubborn in heart and ears, says the Jesuit, he rejected salutary admonitions and advice. The Governor of the city applied to Laynez, General of the Society of Jesus, to go to him, and try to convince him of the truth, that he might be saved from eternal fire after *their* fire had consumed him. Laynez went to the prison, and there found some cardinals, a few bishops, and many men of rank, among whom were some relatives of the Pope, whom the Governor had invited to be also present. They could not have been all assembled in the cell; therefore it is most probable that they met in the dreadful hall where prisoners were put to the question.

The Inquisitors had finished their work. The good man was in the power of the Governor of Rome, as to his body; and his soul was already committed to the God of everlasting mercy. Laynez, a veteran controversialist, who had debated in Trent, and encountered Beza in the Conference of Poissy, entered into a formal disputation with this poor Waldense. They contended hard; and Laynez, stimulated by the applause of the dignitaries around him, endeavoured to perplex him with a sort of Socratic subtlety. The bishops joined in, and, by ensnaring questions, they endeavoured to make him contradict himself; but he stood firm. Believing in the Son of God, he had the witness in himself; and in that assurance he could rejoice, and be triumphant over death and hell.

In Venice, from time to time, the inquisitorial spies detected members of a secret society of worshippers in that city, the feeble remnant of those whose dispersion was reported by Altieri to Luther; and them the magistrates condemned of course. The usual mode of execution there was by drowning in the sea. Gerdes collects the names of four such who were drowned between the years 1562 and 1567. They were called *Giovanni Guirlanda*, *Antonio Ricetto*, *Francesco Segà*, and *Francesco Spinola*.

\* *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, iv., 11.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### ITALY: INQUISITION OF THE CARDINALS.

Nor least interesting among the objects that present themselves in a survey of Italy at this time, is the terror of the clergy at the Protestant Reformation. Even the efforts made by the champions of Romanism to counteract the evangelical influences that were spreading into Italy from beyond the Alps recoiled upon themselves. The Jesuits did their best to raise a more cultivated race of priests, who might frustrate the labours of the Reformers; but they found it impossible to set the mind of their pupils into action without endangering their orthodoxy. Literary men strove sincerely to clear their country from the reproach of ignorance; but their zeal first exposed them to suspicion of heresy, and then actually drew them into new opinions. Many dignitaries of the Church saw that unless they made some show of reformation of manners, it would be impossible for their clergy to recover the confidence of the people; but when they gave utterance to that persuasion, they spoke so like the Lutherans, that they were suspected of a secret design to betray the cause of their Church to the enemy. In all cases the Inquisition came upon the field, and visited suspected persons with the penalties intended for the heretics themselves. Monks and priests often turned away from their over-zealous brethren with fear for themselves, and sometimes not without cause.

The Roman College was founded by Ignacio de Loyola in the year 1551; and a Calvinist, as Orlandino tells us, entered among the first students. How far the statement is correct, one cannot say; but the tale is curious, and the reader shall have it as it is given.

The nascent Institution, says Orlandino, could not be kept secure against the snares of heresy. Philip Melancthon, and another leader of the German revolt, sent an agent of theirs to study in the house, in order that, by his means, they might acquaint themselves with the internal affairs of the Society, and, if possible, pervert some of the inmates by their "execrable and hateful doctrine." This person, whose name the Jesuit annalist does not condescend to mention, was a fine man, thirty years of age, of noble figure, exceedingly clever, and one that so perfectly assumed the air of obedience to the slightest indication of authority by a superior, and went through the ceremonial devotions of the place with so much apparent piety, that he bade fair to attain the highest eminence, and be one of the fairest ornaments of the Order. "He omitted nothing that was necessary to conceal his own sect, and cover his nefarious intentions."

But being one day employed in keeping the dining-room in order, and having one Brother Oliver for his assistant, he took occasion to talk with the said Oliver when they were alone, with none to overhear them, concerning points of controversy. The two brothers discoursed freely and at length on the use of images, the power of the Roman Pontiff, faith and works, and other topics pertaining to the controversy that was then so rife. Oliver, however, faithful to the obligations of his institute, suffered the Calvinist to talk, perhaps encouraged the conversation, and, in the course of a few days, he had noted down "from his impudent mouth twenty-five destructive articles of doctrine, hateful to Catholics." Possessed of these proofs of guilt, Oliver disclosed the treachery to the blessed Father Ignatius, who instantly took measures for making it known to Cardinal Caraffa, then Inquisitor at Rome. The Cardinal threw the German hypocrite into the Inquisition, did with him what Orlandino does not say, but leaves us to conjecture, and thus extorted confession and compelled repentance. But "that impunity in sinning might not increase licence, Caraffa sent the man to the galleys for life, and bound him to the most shameful benches." \*

\* *Hist. Societ. Jesu*, pars prima, xi., 7.

Of all persons in Rome, not one could be more deeply panic-stricken than Pope Paul IV. The newly-erected prisons of the Inquisition were crowded. Spies prowled about everywhere. The Inquisitors drank in delations as thirsty souls drink in water. Suspicion, however slight, however unfounded, was enough for the suspected person to be shut up from the light of day. None dared breathe a murmur at the severity of the Tribunal, or betray pity for the sufferers, or he would be punished as an abettor of heresy. Even the College of Cardinals trembled ; for one of their own number was incarcerated on suspicion of heresy, although he had contended most ardently for the honour of the Church. As for the Roman people, their dread was beyond measure, when they saw the Inquisition take cognizance of matters which had never before come within its jurisdiction.\*

It was from personal dislike, if report be true, that the Pope threw *Cardinal Morone* into prison. Morone had been Apostolic Legate in the Council of Trent, and a most eminent advocate of the highest pretensions of the Papacy ; but his ungrateful master flung him into the Castle of St. Angelo as a state prisoner, and then consigned him to the Inquisition. The Inquisitors were unable, or unwilling, to find him guilty, and the Pope desired him to come out of prison ; but he refused to accept liberty until publicly released from the discredit of such a position by a declaration of his innocence. Paul would not stoop to satisfy this reasonable demand, and the Cardinal remained a prisoner until summoned to the Conclave to take part in the election of another Pope on the death of Paul.

*Egidio Foscherati*, Bishop of Modena, was made prisoner at the same time as Morone, and perhaps with even greater injustice. The Cardinal may have spoken on matters of discipline with a freedom resembling that of the Reformers, but the Bishop had not so far offended.†

\* Murtaori, *Annali d'Italia*, anno 1560.

† *Ibid.* When referring to the most learned, industrious, and accurate Lodovico Antonio Muratori, I cannot refrain from adding a brief note ; and am the more disposed to do so as the treatment dealt to this author is by no means singular. While compiling his admirable "*Annals of Italy*," he could not help noticing many passages of history which the priests would gladly have



*Dr. Thomas Wylson*, an Englishman who took refuge in Rome to escape the displeasure of Queen Mary, but who had never actively opposed Romanism, was informed against for having written an objectionable book on Rhetoric, and another on Logic. "For which," he afterwards said, "they accounted me a heretic, notwithstanding the absolution granted to all the realm" (of England) "by Pope Julius III. for all former offences or practices devised against Holy Mother Church, as they call it. A strange matter! that things done in England seven years before, and the same universally forgiven, should afterwards be laid to a man's charge in Rome! But what cannot malice do?.....God be my Judge, I had then as little fear—although death was present, and the torment at hand, whereof I felt some smart—as ever I had in all my life before. For when I saw those that did seek my death to be so maliciously set, to make such poor shifts for my readier dispatch, and to burden me with those back-reckonings, I took such courage, and was so bold, that the judge then did much marvel at my stoutness; and, thinking to bring down my great heart, told me plainly that I was in further peril than whereof I was aware, and sought thereupon to take advantage of my words, and to bring me in danger by all means possible. And after long debating with me, they willed me at any hand to submit myself to the Holy Father, and the devout College of Cardinals. For otherwise there was no remedy."

From the debate *Dr. Wylson* was taken back to the dun-

buried in oblivion. For this offence the Spanish Inquisitors put him in their Index as an author whose works were to be expurgated. *Benedict IV.*, one of the most respectable of the Roman Pontiffs, wrote to the Inquisitor of Spain an intimation that the works of great men ought not to be prohibited, but disapproved; and he instanced the writings of *Muratori*, as deserving that indulgence. The Annals just mentioned were accordingly reprinted in Rome by *Giuseppe Catalani*, with notes to refute or explain away all passages adverse to the temporal power of Rome as well as to Romish doctrine. The Roman edition of 1786, with notes meant to be corrective, is the edition that I have used; and I find that instead of extenuating the cruelty perpetrated on these two persons, *Catalani* fully examined their cases, and, far from denial or extenuation, confirms, and much enlarges, the testimony of *Muratori*, who confidently appealed to that Pope for protection against the Inquisitor. Such protection was promptly given, and this edition of *Muratori* is very much enriched by the annotations of the censor.

geon, and would probably have lost his life, but the prison was set on fire, the Roman people forced the building open, and released the prisoners alive; and thus he escaped in the tumult, fled from Rome, and, after his return to England, was made one of the principal Secretaries of State, in the reign of our brave Queen Elizabeth.\* In that reign other Secretaries of State had, like Dr. Wylson, sufficient experience of the wickedness and danger of Popery to guard this nation against its inroads; and now it would seem as if, without similar experience, few statesmen can be expected to follow their example.

With respect to the prisons of the Inquisition in Rome, the great horror which the Romans had of them is easily accounted for by the little that we know of them; and the case now to be related may serve by way of illustration.

*Fra Tommaso Fabiano di Mileto*, a conventual friar of the order of St. Francis, received sentence on the 16th of December, 1564, in the Apostolic Palace, in presence of the Governor of Rome and the Pope's Referendary. The cause had been specially entrusted by the Cardinals, Inquisitors-General, to the Cardinal Borromeo, and the sentence, authenticated by his signature, contains a full account of the offences charged against the friar. He had believed and held—

That it is not sinful to eat flesh on days when it is forbidden by the Church.—That images and relics ought not to be revered.—That Christ is our only Advocate, and we should not have recourse to saints in our supplications.—That there is no purgatory after this present life.—That indulgences granted by Popes are of no value.—That the Popes who do not imitate St. Peter are not Vicars of Christ, nor successors of St. Peter.—That priests cannot bind and loose from sins.—That the Pope has no more authority than a simple priest.—That justification is by faith alone.—That predestination and foreknowledge destroy free will.—That baptism should be administered with water alone, and without ceremonies, as also marriage and the mass without ceremonies.—That confession of particular sins to a priest is

\* Strype's "Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth," anno 1577.

not necessary, and that it is sufficient to confess to God.—That holy orders are not a sacrament.—That the host is not the true body of Christ. Besides holding these points of doctrine, he had taught them to others for five or six years past; he had possessed and read heretical books; he had had intercourse with heretics.

Borromeo said that the friar was not obstinate, and that having taken the advice and opinion of his colleagues, the most illustrious and most reverend Inquisitors, he resolved to deprive him of all ecclesiastical dignities and honours; but, inasmuch as, influenced by good advice, the friar had evinced his penitence, the Cardinal absolved him from the censures thus pronounced, and ordered that he should receive absolution at once, under condition of returning to the Church and doing penance, the form of which penance is described in every particular, including the *abitello*, or penitential habit with a cross. This, it might have been thought, would be accounted sufficient for a forgiven penitent; but after it comes the following dreadful sentence, necessary to satisfy the anger of the Church:—

“And because it is not convenient and just to be zealous only in taking vengeance for offences committed against princes of this world, and yet not be concerned for offences committed against the Divine Majesty; and also that crimes may not remain unpunished with bad example to our neighbour, it is our pleasure that you be walled up in a place surrounded with four walls,—*che tu sij murato in un loco circondato da quattro mura*,—which place we will cause to be assigned to you; where, with anguish of heart and abundance of tears, you shall bewail your sins and offences committed against the majesty of God, the Holy Mother Church, and the religion of the Father St. Francis, in which you have made profession.”\*

So within four walls built up around him, but with sufficient space to kneel down before a crucifix and an image of the Virgin, this poor man was to be confined, and out of that place he was not to stir, but there suffer anguish of heart,

\* “Case of a Minorite Friar, &c. Edited by the Rev. Richard Gibbings, B.D. Dublin, 1853.”

and shed many tears. There was no order given for any door, but only four walls were to be built up around him ; and from what is known of those structures, we may suppose that a small opening was to be left above, for food to be dropped down to him. It was what would be called in England " a little-ease," where the prisoner was to be kept, to putrefy and expire in his own filth. Mr. Gibbings so describes the cell in a carefully-written note.

The pit with a trap-door, and the small cells with skeletons in them, imbedded in lime, which Gavazzi saw in the Roman Inquisition, and will be presently described in his own words, were probably a variety of the same secret prison, as used in Italy. The same kind of sepulchre for the living was in use in Spain ; and Mr. Wetherell, to whom I am indebted for the Spanish Cartilla described in the Appendix, wrote me the following account of what he had seen in Spain. He says, " I had often heard talk in Spain of the *Emparedados*, (or persons walled up,) and doubted about them ; but at length I saw it. About fifteen years ago, (in the year 1840,) the building of the Inquisition at Seville, being in ruins, was inhabited by a poor man, with his wife and child. This last, knocking about one of the rooms, moved a brick in the wall, where there proved to be what is called *un citaron*, covering or marking a space in the wall about a yard and a half wide by a foot or more in depth. At the bottom of this place were found, *and I saw*, the bones of two persons, which must have been built up in the manner described by Father Gavazzi."

By some means or other, Fra Tommaso, the Minorite, escaped from his " place with four walls." He might have found a loose stone in the wall, and broken through ; or some one of the servants may have pitied him, and helped him to get out. Be that as it might, his effigy was burnt, according to a sentence read on the 8th of November, 1565.

*Pietro Carnesecchi* was one of the most illustrious victims of the Roman Inquisition. The Italian Princes, sharing in the alarm produced by the Reformation, and fearing lest the doctrines reported to prevail in Germany should lead to a political revolution in Italy, earnestly desired to suppress the new opinions. Yet the Princes desired that their subjects

should not be indiscriminately abandoned to the Inquisition, but that their own deputies should assist at the processes of the Holy Office. In this view Cosimo, Duke of Tuscany, ordered that the Nuncio should give him an account of such causes as might occur, and that the sentences should not be executed without his consent. The Pope, for his part, thought that the Tribunal, thus held in check, would not have sufficient power to put down innovation, and resolved to take another method for the accomplishment of that object. His method was to strike at the chiefs, in order to terrify their followers; and to draw them from distant states to the Inquisition at Rome, seemed the measure most conducive to that end. He therefore began by demanding individuals to be given up to himself. The Lordship of Venice led the way of compliance by giving up *Giulio Zanetti*, who had fled to Padua under an accusation of heresy; and the Republic excused itself for an act that was not unlike brutality by alleging that Zanetti was born at Fano, and was therefore a subject of the Pope. Throughout Italy Paul IV. sought after such persons, to the alarm of the people, who broke out into riot at Mantua and some other places.

Among the multitude of persons reputed to be infected by the Lutheran heresy was Carnesecchi, a man of high family and great learning. He had been Protonotary at Rome under Clement VII., but was, in common with many eminent Italians, a friend of many of the Reformed. On this account he had once been actually in the custody of the Inquisition, but the Duke of Florence managed to get him released. On that occasion Carnesecchi left Rome, went to France, and held correspondence with the chiefs of the Reform there. Paul IV. then cited him to appear again at Rome; but he came not, and was therefore declared contumacious, and his contumacy became undoubted when his reply to the Papal summons was nothing less than a written attack upon the Papacy. At that juncture, trusting in the friendship of the Duke, Carnesecchi ventured to visit him at Florence; and Pio V., by this time on the throne, commanded the Duke to surrender his guest. The Tuscan would have thought himself bound, he said, to deliver up his own child to the Pope, if so required; and, without a blush, he saw his friend

arrested while sitting at his table, and carried away by force to Rome.

On the 16th of August, 1567, Carnesecchi was sentenced to death, having been convicted of thirty-four condemned opinions. The sentence was publicly read to him on the 21st of the month following. Having consigned him to the secular arm, they put on him the *sambenito*, painted with flames and devils. Meanwhile, Cosimo, with remorse for his cowardice and perfidy, strove to move the Pope to compassion, and succeeded in obtaining a respite of ten days before putting him to death, with promise of grace if he would renounce his heretical opinions, and return to the Catholic faith. The Pope also sent a Capuchin friar to exhort him to repentance, and conversion to the Church of Rome; but the exhortation was vain. So far was he from conversion that he endeavoured by disputation to convert the Capuchin, and showed that he did not shrink from death. He was then burnt alive. To the last he bore himself with singular constancy. He even chose to walk to the scaffold, as if in pomp, wearing fine linen, and new and elegant gloves, since the *sambenito* did not allow the use of other garments. The ecclesiastical writers, and especially the continuator of Baronius, find great fault with one who wrote that Carnesecchi was burnt alive; and even affirm that the Roman Inquisition never inflicted such a cruel punishment; and some historians, Botta for example, say that he was hung or beheaded, and only the *sambenito* burnt: but there was no such mitigation of the punishment in this case, and there are authentic records yet extant to demonstrate that he was really burnt alive.\*

Extreme terror and consternation followed this tragedy of Carnesecchi, not only in Tuscany, but in all Italy. Every one only feared for himself, for his relatives, or for his friends. Pleasant and confidential conversation was banished, even from the secret intercourse of families. And the terror extended beyond Italy; for in Italy no nationality was respected. An Englishman, *Thomas Reynolds*, resident or

\* This is proved by Mr. Gibbings in his "Report of the Trial and Martyrdom of Pietro Carnesecchi, transcribed from the original MS., &c. Dublin University Press, 1856."

visiting in Naples, had been accused to the bishop, together with three Neapolitan gentlemen ; and Rome, being now the inquisitorial centre of the world, the bishop sent them all thither. The cardinals threw our countryman into prison, and laid him on the rack. From torture, and other sufferings in prison, there he died. Many an Englishman has perished in like manner.

The name of *Aonio Paleario* is familiar in England. That great and good man, after many years of persecution, driven from place to place, was teaching Greek and Latin in Milan. The writings by which we know him are of posthumous publication, and had not been seen by the Inquisitors. They condemned him to be hung, and his body to be burnt, on account only of the following opinions :—" 1. That there is no purgatory. 2. That the burial of dead bodies in churches was injurious to public health. 3. That Monachism was of Pagan origin. 4. That, as it appeared, he attributed justification to faith alone in the mercy of God, who pardons our sins through Christ." For this he suffered death in the metropolis of Christendom, October 5th, 1568, being an old man of threescore years and ten.

From 1542 to 1559 the Cardinal-Inquisitors carried matters with a very high hand, and were able to suppress any very strong manifestation of public hatred ; but as soon as Paul IV. died, the inhabitants of Rome gave full vent to their abhorrence of the new system. Amidst the uproarious rejoicing which took place, as usual, as soon as his decease was known, the common prisons were opened, according to the custom, and the prisoners released ; but the new prison of the Inquisition was kept strictly shut. Thither the people ran, forced the gates, released the prisoners, and set the building on fire. Then it was that Dr. Wylson escaped, and fled to England. With great difficulty they were restrained from treating the Dominican convent, *della Minerva*, in the same way, and from taking vengeance on the monks, who, beyond all others, were devoted to the service of the Inquisition. The crowd moved towards the Capitol, broke down a fine statue of the departed Pontiff, knocked off the head, and rolled it in the streets for three days, when they dropped the unvisaged boulder into the Tiber. They would have

treated the Pope's body in a similar manner, but it was hastily hidden in a vault. The Commissary of the Inquisition was wounded, and his house burnt down. The arms of the Caraffa family—for it was Cardinal Caraffa who supported the founder of the Jesuits in advising Paul III. to create the Congregation of the Holy Office—were every where torn down.

But popular tempests lull as rapidly as they spring up ; and the Cardinals resumed their station without any effectual resistance. They had learnt that the walls of the Holy House were not sufficiently substantial, and in due time the Princes of the Faith fortified themselves within a much more solid edifice. The present palace of the Roman Inquisition, raised by Pius V., bears an inscription to attest the year of its completion, 1569. A letter addressed to Bullinger in 1568 conveys the intelligence that at that time some persons were every day burned, strangled, or beheaded ; that all the jails and places of confinement were full, so that there was constant toil in building new prisons ; and that Rome, though very extensive, could scarcely hold and keep in custody the multitude of the godly. This Pius V., when Cardinal Ghislieri, was the firstman who bore the title of Supreme Inquisitor. He kept it until his death ; and his successor, Gregory XIII., became Prefect of the Congregation of the Inquisition,—a title and office proudly sustained by every Pontiff down to this day.



## CHAPTER XXXVI.

## ITALY: CONGREGATION OF THE CARDINALS—LEARNED MEN.

THE relative position of the Inquisition and the Italian Academies is a phase of religious and literary history that has not yet received the attention it deserves. English readers may find much interesting information concerning the Academies, which multiplied in Italy in the sixteenth century, in the admirable, yet too brief, work of the late Dr. M'Crie, on "The Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy." Tiraboschi treats the subject copiously, and so delights in it as to win the confidence of his readers. I follow him in briefly tracing the rise of the Academy of Grillenzone in Modena, and the cases of Lodovico Castelvetro, Giordano Bruno, Gabriello Fiamma, and Galileo Galilei.

Few Italian cities in the sixteenth century possessed so many accomplished scholars as were to be found in Modena. Four of the most learned cardinals, Cortese, Sadoletto, Badia, and Bertani, were natives of Modena. An Academy sprang up in that city spontaneously,—a mere consequence of the presence and intimate association of persons of similar pursuits; and the hospitalities of Giovanni Grillenzone, a physician, facilitated its establishment. There were seven brothers of the Grillenzone family, of whom five were married; and, after their father's death, these brothers, with the five wives, and not fewer children than from forty-five to fifty, sat at table in one spacious apartment, the elder sisters waiting on the rest. Giovanni, although not the eldest brother, occupied the chief place by common consent; and this extraordinary picture of domestic unity and comfort

attracted the regards of both citizens and strangers towards the dwelling. But learned men received the warmest welcome. Their parties were numerous, and their conversation imparted a polish to the family itself, which repaid the munificent hospitality afforded to their guests.

Masters who had already taught Latin and Greek, jurisprudence, philosophy, and medicine, in Bologna and Ferrara, as well as Modena, met together in this magnificent mansion ; and Giovanni Grillenzzone was induced to devote an apartment to purposes of voluntary study. Two lectures were delivered therein daily, to explain the most difficult passages of Greek and Latin classics. At length it became a custom to close each day with select parties at supper, when those present gave full scope to their powers in brilliant conversation on every subject of public interest. The Reformation, then at its height all over Europe, could not but engage the most intelligent attention, and the various topics of doctrine, discipline, jurisprudence, and public policy that arose, were naturally pursued with earnestness and candour.

In proportion to the advance of a spirit of inquiry thus fostered, was the increase of students, who made the new Academy their centre of opinion ; many being attracted from distant parts of Italy to reside in Modena. One of their friends, Ortensio Landi, speaks of an “ infinite number of young students of Greek, Latin, Tuscan, *sacred* and profane literature.” But,—Tiraboschi proceeds to say,—“ while this Academy was flourishing so happily, an event happened that threw it into confusion, and nearly involved it in utter ruin. The heresies of Luther and Calvin, that were stealing even into Italy, now threatened to infest this city also with their poison ; and it seemed as if they tended singularly to gain over the adherence of these academicians.” Muratori thought that this was a mere suspicion, induced by a sort of contempt which they manifested towards priests and friars, who certainly gave occasion for contempt. “ But, to tell the truth,” says Tiraboschi, “ there was much more than suspicion ; and I shall not be afraid of obscuring the fame of that city, if I relate explicitly what we find in contemporaneous writers.

“ We have an account of the whole matter in the manuscript

chronicle of Alessandro Tassoni, a writer of those times, of which there is a copy in this Estensian Library. He relates that in the year 1540 there came to Modena one Paolo Ricci, a Sicilian, under the assumed name of Lisia Fileno; who, being regarded as a very learned man, was gladly welcomed in a city where learning was so highly valued. He knew that some persons in Modena were already inclined to favour the new opinions; and to these he discovered himself with freedom, began to gain other followers, and, assembling them secretly in a private house, he there explained to them *his guilty doctrine*; and, at the same time, stimulated by the presumption that is peculiar to innovators, even the rudest members of the congregation, not excepting women, undertook to teach, and to decide freely on the meaning of the sacred Books, wherever opportunity occurred,—in the streets, in shops, and in churches. They disputed concerning faith and the law of Christ; and they all promiscuously lacerated the Holy Scriptures, quoting Paul, Matthew, John, the Apocalypse, and all doctors,—whom, however, none of them had heard.”

Some time after these meetings were discovered, the preacher Fileno was arrested by order of the Duke of Modena, Ercole II., and carried prisoner to Ferrara, where, they say, “he made a public renunciation of his errors.” But, whatever he did then, the seed he had sown sprang up so largely and so vigorously, “that the members of the Academy noted down every word of the preachers in the churches, commenting so severely on what they said, that several of them forsook their pulpits; and Cardinal Morone, who was Bishop of Modena, wrote to Cardinal Contarini, under date of July 3d, 1542, that he could no longer find monks willing to preach there. “The day before yesterday a minister of the Order honestly told me that his preachers would not come into the city any more, because of the persecution that the members of the Academy are waging against them, it being everywhere reported that Modena is become Lutheran.”

And indeed the preachers from Dominican monasteries must have felt it a most insufferable persecution, when those keen Italian lawyers sat down coolly before them, taking

notes of their absurd harangues, and made them the subject of grave criticism or of brisk sarcastic ridicule.

While Morone and Contarini were in correspondence, and the College Apostolic was moved to horror by the report of a dogmatical conspiracy at Modena, the more liberal Cardinal Sadoletto wrote from Rome to his friend Lodovico Castelvetro, telling of the displeasure felt by the Pope and Cardinals on hearing how the academicians were wavering in their faith. Castelvetro, for himself and his friends, who probably felt more interested in literary pursuits than in discussing questions of religion, returned him an assurance of their innocence, and obedience to the Church. Sadoletto responded gladly to that assurance, rejoiced in their good dispositions, and exhorted them to write a letter to the Pope himself, reiterating the same professions. The best method, however, as the Romans thought, was to draw up a formulary, that all the leading inhabitants and learned men of Modena might subscribe, the suspected and the unsuspected alike; in order that the weight of their example on account of rank or learning might be thrown into the scale against the influence of Lutheranism.

The formulary was drawn up by Contarini. The three Cardinals—Morone, Contarini, and Sadoletto—met in Modena. The priors and conservators of the city appeared before them on the 1st of September, 1542, and subscribed the document, together with the Cardinals themselves. Then came the dignified clergy of the city, the superiors of monasteries, and the chiefs of the Academy. Thenceforth both city and Academy spared no pains to display their orthodoxy; and when two Franciscan preachers, in the year 1544, seemed to deliver Lutheran doctrine, they were duly punished. But suspicion of heresy was too deep a brand for any such affectation of zeal to wipe away; and the Academy of Grillenzzone, deserted through fear, soon fell into oblivion. After that subscription of the formulary, the suspicion seemed to be lulled, but only seemed. It lay unslumbering in the restless bosoms of Inquisitors. The next year one Pelegrino degli Erri obtained the situation of Commissary of the Roman Inquisition, established himself in that capacity in Modena, demanded and obtained the help of the secular arm, and at

midnight broke into the dwelling of Doctor Filippo Valentino, a nobleman of the city. Erri suspected Valentino of unsound doctrine: Valentino had suspected Erri of dark intentions, and therefore absconded before Erri came. The nobleman afterwards managed to get an appointment as *podestá*, or magistrate, of Trent; and thus, holding down the secular arm in that city, was less easy to be captured on any light suspicion.

*Castelvetro*, too, was visited with long-boded vengeance. One Caro, an insignificant poetaster of Modena, who had been stung by his criticisms, vowed revenge. So did a licentious brother of the unfortunate scholar, whose admonitions had become wearisome, long to have him put out of the way. These persons, it was supposed, moved Erri to proceed, and were made use of by him to supply material for a prosecution, when, in 1557, the tempest burst.

*Bonifacio Valentino*, a canon of the cathedral; his cousin, *Filippo Valentino*, already mentioned; *Antonio Godaldino*, a printer; and *Lodovico Castelvetro*, were all four commanded to show themselves in Rome. Two of them, Bonifacio Valentino and Godaldino, were arrested, carried thither as prisoners, and thrown at once into the dungeons of the Inquisition. The others, Castelvetro and Filippo Valentino, regarding themselves as no better than prisoners under observation, went thither at their own expense. Bonifacio Valentino, convicted of Lutheranism, made a public retraction in the church of the Minerva, on the 6th of May, 1558; and on the 29th of the same month, being Whit-Sunday, he was exhibited in the cathedral of Modena, to impress the people there with a spectacle of the same kind. Godaldino, who had sold some good books in Modena, was kept prisoner in the Inquisition, most probably until death.

Favoured by Providence, Castelvetro and Filippo Valentino escaped from Rome, and were therefore condemned and excommunicated for contumacy. As for Castelvetro, it is difficult to understand how he could evade the pursuit of the provincial Inquisitors by concealment, and then elude punishment on discovery; but it is related that he allowed himself to be persuaded to go to Rome under a safe-conduct, there to give an account of his faith, and that he went in company

with a brother, Giovanmaria, who was also under suspicion. It is related that after undergoing some examinations, and perceiving the tanglings of inquisitorial snares to be gathering fast round him, he succeeded in escaping out of Rome at night, under cover of the deep darkness that veiled so many atrocities in that most wicked of cities, and that in a happy moment ministered the rare benefit of cover to a fugitive. And a fugitive he continued to the end of life. Pope Pius IV. invited him to venture into Rome again, with promise of a kind reception; but, reasonably incredulous, he prayed permission rather to lay his case before the Council then assembled in Trent. The Pope rejected that prayer, it being his will that the Inquisition at his own Court should retain Castelvetro under its jurisdiction. He therefore fled from Italy for a time, but afterwards returned to Chiavenna, and there died in 1571.

A nephew of this eminent man, of the same name, fell into the clutches of the Inquisitors in Venice; was condemned for heresy, having translated into Italian a work of one of the German Reformers; and was doomed to perpetual imprisonment, if not to fire. (A.D. 1612.) The English ambassador requested his release, and the Senate, complying with the request, and without saying a word either to Nuncio or Inquisitor, set him free.

*Giordano Bruno*, of Nola, ranked high among the philosophers of his age. But he travelled out of Italy, and in Switzerland, France, Germany, and England made open profession of the Reformed religion. His movements were very rapid, and could not now be distinctly traced; but from the confused notices of his adventures and opinions that remain, we gather that many of his opinions were erroneous, and his enemies charge him with impiety. From this brand, however, Brucker is considered to have cleared him.\* Impelled by some motive which none but himself could comprehend, he resolved to return to Italy; and, in spite of the peril that awaited him, to carry into execution a long-cherished purpose, which he had avowed in one of his

\* *Bruckeri Hist. Philosophiæ*, period. iii., pars ii., lib. i., cap. 2. *De Giordano Bruno Solano*.

poetical pieces.\* Not to be diverted from this purpose, he travelled as cautiously as possible, and stopped in Padua, where he fancied the Inquisition would not lay hands on him. But he was mistaken; for, however the Venetians might boast of republican independence, they were no less cruel to reputed heretics than their neighbours of the Papal State. Bruno became prisoner. They took him to Venice, and after long confinement, some say for six years, they took him from the Piombi, and carried him to Rome. There he underwent frequent examinations, and sustained many arguments with the most clever theologians of the Court. Bellarmine was then the Pope's theologian, and was made Inquisitor during the time that Bruno lay in the new Roman prison; we may therefore be almost certain that the most independent and daring philosopher, and the most astute controversialist of the age, waged a stubborn conflict.

"Being convicted," says Scioppio, an eye and ear witness of the whole, "by these divines," he obtained a grant of forty days for deliberation. Then he promised to retract: then he defended his "trivialities:" then he gained a grant of other forty days. But, after all, he did no more than delude the Pope and the Inquisition, who must have been impatient to mortify the Reformed, and especially the Universities of Wittemberg and Paris, by exhibiting a professor of their own in the character of penitent. Nearly two years thus passed away, when the Inquisitors, unable to overcome his firmness, had him brought into the great hall of their palace; and there, in presence of the Cardinals of the Congregation of the Holy Office, the theologians, consultants, and the Governor of the city, he was made to kneel down, and in that painful posture listen to the reading of a long sentence.

\* Quoted by Brucker.

*"At nos, quantumvis fatis versemur iniquis,  
Fortunæ longum a pueris luctamen adorsi,  
Propositum tamen invicti servamus et ausus,  
Queis vel forte Deo tantummodo teste valemus,  
Vel non usque adeo ægroti sumus atque sopiti,  
Vel certe sensum morbi retinemus, et ultro  
Temnimus, et mortem minime exhorrescimus ipsam.  
Viribus ergo animi haud mortali subdimus ulli."*

The ceremony was conducted thus:—His life, pursuits, and doctrinal opinions were set forth in full, as well as the brotherly diligence employed by the Inquisition for his recovery, and its failure; so great was his obstinacy and impiety. Then they degraded him, for he had received priest's orders; excommunicated him; delivered him to the secular magistrate to be punished, praying that the punishment might be inflicted as tenderly as possible, and without effusion of blood. All this he took in profound silence until the ceremony was gone through; when he very coolly said, "Perhaps you feel greater pain in pronouncing the sentence than I do in receiving it."

From the hall of the Inquisition the Governor of Rome had him conveyed to a city-prison, locked up closely, and watched for a week, in hope that he would renounce his errors. But he disappointed their last hope; and, after this unusual delay, they brought him to the stake. There again they solicited a recantation, but still in vain. A crucifix was brought to him when bound and surrounded with faggots; but he turned his head aside from the idol with an expression of intense aversion. The fire was now lit; and thus, on the 17th of February, 1600, one of the first scholars of Europe was burnt to ashes for the satisfaction of the Sacred College. But for the deadly persistence of those men, we might have contrasted their cool gentility, and mild consideration, and patient arguing, with the Saracenic barbarism of their brother Inquisitors in Spain and Portugal.

If this terrible Tribunal of the Roman faith had chosen to watch over the morals of Italian literature, and had especially directed its vigilance towards the poets, it might have moderated the licentiousness of that class, and the impure imagination and correspondent immorality of the Italian people; but it did not. Vice might take its course, and the confessors would greedily collect the profits; but as soon as ever a religious poet raised his voice, the Inquisitors were on the alert, listening for heresy, that they might put him to silence. Such a poet was *Gabriello Fiamma*, a canon of the church of the Lateran, and Bishop of Chioggia. From childhood he was an ardent student, and early became a popular preacher in the chief cities of Italy. Princes



employed him in affairs of great importance. There is nothing that we know of to entitle him to be considered evangelical, but his offence was earnestness; and it was not through any good-will of the Inquisitors that he escaped the torture-chamber and the dungeon. That they did their best to bring him thither appears from a letter of his own, written in Naples, where he was preaching Lent sermons. (A.D. 1562.) "In my last," he writes, "I told you of the success of my labours, which have been infinitely applauded by the public in general, but by some malignant and envious persons are ill-rewarded, as you may already know. And this I have been made to feel. Last evening, by order of the Cardinal Alessandrino," (soon afterwards Pope Pius V.,) "all my manuscripts were seized, and every book noted, and even the least scrap of paper in my possession. This is no grievance to me, as this order comes from that worthy and most religious lord, and from the most Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition; but I am indeed sorry that occasion for this has been given by some malevolent and envious persons." Of course he writes in this manner of the Inquisition in view of the possibility that his letter may be intercepted, and fall into the hands of his enemies.

The case of *Galileo Galilei* is too notorious to be passed over without very distinct notice. This eminent man was born in Pisa, on the 15th of February, 1564, and was therefore in the seventieth year of his age at the time of his last trial, which took place in the months of April and May, 1633. Urban VIII., by the fires he kindled in the squares of Milan, was already the terror of Italy; and public dread was by no means diminished when men saw that the Inquisition not only meddled with religious opinions, but extended its action into the domain of natural science. In Florence, still a great city, in spite of the persecution that spoiled its commerce, Galileo taught mathematics, under the patronage of the Grand Duke. During many years he had endeavoured, both from the professorial chair and by the press, in Pisa and in Rome, to prove that the earth revolves around the sun, and not the sun around the earth. The friars declared his theory to be absurd, false, and heretical. The Holy Office caught this rumour of heresy, and the Congregation of

Inquisitor-Cardinals at Rome, by command of the Pope, required their consultors to report on the writings of Galileo. Their sentence was condemnatory, of course; and Galileo was summoned to Rome, there to receive the censure, or endure the consequence. He went. Cardinal Belarmino called him into his presence, and commanded him to abandon the suspected "doctrine" under pain of imprisonment, and never more to teach it, either by word or by writing. He promised, and the Sacred Congregation appeared satisfied. But Galileo could not keep his promise. He applied himself to the composition of a Dialogue between three persons; one in doubt, a second addicted to the Ptolemaic system, and a third believing the Copernican. He trusted that, by venturing an hypothesis rather than propounding a theory, he might escape the charge of dogmatizing. The interlocutors merely inclined to the speculations of Copernicus; and the author feared not to present himself at Rome, and ask licence of the Master of the Sacred Palace to print the Dialogues. And by special intercession of the Grand Duke of Tuscany he obtained it.

But no sooner did his book see the light, than the monkhood was in an uproar; and the Congregation were on the point of condemning the Master as a heretic, for having given the licence. To Urban they pointed out that the Tuscan philosopher had caricatured the Pope himself in the person of "Simplicius," the Peripatetic; and His Holiness kindled into wrath against the insolent contemner of the Apostolic Chair. Galileo was then summoned to present himself before the Holy Office in Rome, within the month of October, 1632. Thither he prepared to go, poor, old, sickly, and appalled with thoughts of the fate of Carnesecchi; but, overwhelmed with fear, he fell sick, and appeared to be on the point of death already. Nicolini, Ambassador of the Grand Duke, interceded earnestly with the Pope for a prorogation of the cause, and physicians certified that he was unfit to attempt to travel from Florence to Rome. The Cardinals treated the certificates as untrue, and insisted on his appearance. The Grand Duke Ferdinand, being reminded of the perfidy of his predecessor, Cosmo I., towards Carnesecchi, at first refused to

give him up; but the Grand Duchess Christina, ruled by priests, implored her husband to gratify the Church by surrendering the heretic.

What next happened cannot be so accurately related as by his own pen; and I therefore translate as closely as possible from a letter addressed by himself to a friend, and published from the autograph by Tiraboschi.

“After the publication of my Dialogue, I was called to Rome by the Congregation of the Holy Office; arrived there on the 10th of February, 1683; was subjected to the extreme clemency of that tribunal, and of the Sovereign Pontiff, Urban VIII.; who nevertheless thought me worthy of his esteem, although for my part I knew not how to return him the loving Epigram and Sonnet. I was arrested in the delightful palace of the Tuscan Ambassador. Next day the Commissary Lancio came to see me, took me away in his carriage, put various questions to me as we drove on, and appeared very zealously to wish that I should repair the offence I had given to all Italy by maintaining this opinion of the motion of the earth; and for all the solid and mathematical reasons I could adduce he had no reply to give but, *‘Terra autem in æternum stabit, quia terra autem in æternum stat:’* ‘But the earth shall stand for ever, because the earth for ever stands, as the Scripture teaches.’ Thus discoursing, we reached the palace of the Holy Office. This palace lies on the western side of the magnificent church of St. Peter. The Commissary immediately presented me to my Lord Vitrici, the assessor, with whom I found two Dominican friars. They civilly intimated that I must produce my reasons in full Congregation [of the Cardinals managing the affairs of the Inquisition], and said that I should have opportunity of pleading for myself in the event of being considered guilty. On the Thursday following I was presented to the Congregation, and there endeavoured to establish my proofs: but, unhappily for me, the proofs were not understood; and, try what I could, it was beyond my power to make the Congregation understand them. With outbursts of zeal, quite irrelevant to the matter in hand,

they tried to convince me of the scandal I had caused, and harped upon the same passage of Scripture in proof of my offence. Meanwhile a scriptural reason occurred to me, and I alleged it, but with little success. I said that it seemed to me that certain expressions occur in the Bible that agree with ancient belief concerning astronomical sciences; and that perhaps the passage in Job (xxxvii. 18) may be of this kind, where it is said by Elihu that the heavens are solid, and polished like a mirror of brass. It is evident that here he speaks according to the system of Ptolemy, which modern philosophy and right reason demonstrate to be absurd. And then, if so great stress is laid on the standing still of the sun at the word of Joshua, to show that the sun moves, it is but fair to pay some regard also to this passage, where it is said that the heavens are many, each one like a polished mirror. The conclusion to me seemed very just; but it was always evaded, and I got no other answer than a shrug of the shoulders, the usual refuge of one whose only persuasion is that of prejudice, or preconceived opinion.

“At last, as a true Catholic, I was obliged to retract my opinion, and, by way of penalty, my Dialogue was prohibited; and after five months I was dismissed from Rome, and, as the pestilence was then raging in Florence, with generous pity, the house of the dearest friend I had in Siena, Mgr. Archbishop Piccolomini, was appointed to be my prison; and in his most gentlemanly conversation I experienced so great delight and satisfaction, that here I resumed my studies, arrived at and demonstrated most of my mechanical conclusions concerning the resistance of solids, and some other speculations.

“After about five months, when the pestilence had ceased in my native place, in the beginning of December in the present year, 1633, His Holiness permitted me to dwell within the narrow limits of that house I love so well, in the freedom of the open country. I therefore returned to the village of Ballosguardo, and thence to Arcetri; where I still am, breathing the salubrious air, not far from my own dear Florence. Farewell.”\*

\* Tiraboschi, tom. vii., lib. ii.; tom. viii., lib. ii.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

## ITALY: "SACRED CONGREGATION"—GENERAL BUSINESS.

"BLESSED father," said Baronius to Paul V., "the ministry of Peter is twofold,—*to feed* and *to kill*. For the Lord said to him, 'Feed my sheep;' and he also heard a voice from heaven, saying, 'Kill, and eat.' To feed sheep is to take care of obedient, faithful Christians, who in meekness, humility, and piety, show themselves to be sheep and lambs. But when he has no longer to do with sheep and lambs, but with lions, and other wild, refractory, and troublesome beasts, Peter is commanded to kill them; that is to say, to attack, fight, and slaughter them, until there be none such left."\* This notion of killing—eating is another matter—was not peculiar to Baronius. Pius V. acted up to it thoroughly; and, among many butcher-like doings, confirmed all the privileges and graces granted to crusaders of both sexes, by two Innocents, one Leo, one Julius, one Clement, and other of his predecessors, and constituted them a distinct society, for the purpose of helping Inquisitors whenever necessary, and bade them do so without the least scruple or limitation as to means. (A.D. 1570.) In consistence with this appointment, and about this time, the Bartholomew Massacre was contrived, partly at Rome, during a visit of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and partly by the instigation of the Inquisitors at Madrid. It is not surprising, therefore, that when intelligence of that great crime reached the Courts of Europe, it should have been celebrated by those of Pius V. and his princely familiars, namely, Cosimo of Tuscany and Philip II.

\* *Sententia Baronii Card. super Excommunicatione Venetiarum. In Villa Sanvincentiana. 1608.*

of Spain, with public rejoicings and *Te Deums*, whereas it awakened horror everywhere else.

Let us now take note of the proceedings in general of the Sacred Congregation.

They set up an Inquisition in Malta; of which, however, there is little to be told. When Charles V. gave Malta to the Knights of Jerusalem in 1530, it would seem that there was no settled court of Inquisition established in Sicily, of which island Malta had been a dependency, for the Inquisitors at first itinerated, and, perhaps on that account, the Inquisition is not mentioned in the Charter; but the Grand Master of Malta was required to send traitors and heretics to the Viceroy of Sicily, and the see of Malta was also to continue in relation to the parent state. Then, after the Tribunal was established at Palermo, the Inquisitors required that heretics detected in Malta should be sent across to them for treatment. The Grand Master, Casiera, resisted this demand, and quarrels between the Order of St. John and the Holy Office became frequent and long-continued. This, however, gave the Court of Rome occasion to extend their direct inquisitorial jurisdiction into Malta, so far, at least, as the jealousy of the Masters, and the resistance of the people, would allow. (A.D. 1574.)\* The first seat of the Tribunal at Palermo was the royal palace; its next, the fortress of Castellamare, which was doomed to destruction. For eighty years after its establishment the acts of the "Modern Inquisition" are imperfectly known, the records having perished when the fortress—in which were five hundred prisoners—blew up in 1590.†

The diocese of Milan,—once boasting independence,—bounding on the territories of Reformed Switzerland, was kept under the searching vigilance of the Congregation, of which the acts of a Provincial Synod in 1582 are evidence. For the "preservation of the faith," that Synod commanded the inhabitants of the province of Milan,—1. To shun commerce with heretics; 2. And declared it desirable that no

\* *Vertot, Ordre de Malthe*, liv. xiv. *Malta Illustrata*, lib. ii., nota xiv.

† "Progress of the Two Sicilies under the Spanish Bourbons, from 1735 to 1840." By John Goodwin, Esq., Her Majesty's Consul for Sicily. In *Journal of Statistical Society*.

person should be admitted into their country who came from lands infected with heresy; or, 3. If that could not be prevented, that no one should be allowed to lodge in a private house, but confined to an inn, or to the house of his agent, if he had one. 4. If any such came into the diocese, whoever received him should give immediate notice of his arrival, and of his habitation, to the bishop, the Inquisitor, or the parish-priest; but no ecclesiastical person whatever should receive him into his house. 5. The stranger was not to enter a church, except at sermon-time. 6. No one was to send his son into a country of heretics, not even for instruction in commerce, while under twenty-five years of age. 7. Nor was any one to go thither without licence obtained from his bishop or the Inquisitor. 8. Such licence only to be obtained on recommendation of the parish-priest. 9. No Milanese might reside even in the neighbourhood of heretics without licence; nor, 10. Sell an estate in order to remove to an infected country; 11. Under peril of being proceeded against according to the Canons.

After these regulations were added others for the government of printers and booksellers, and for the extirpation of Jewish blasphemy and perfidy. The Swiss, on the other hand, were watchful against encroachments on their cantons; and, on one occasion, the Cardinal, itinerating in the cause of the Inquisition, not being considered a safe person, very narrowly escaped imprisonment, and had to make speed back to Rome again. People in those days did not understand how sickness will get into a country in spite of quarantine.

At Rome the Cardinals bore a high hand, and, in revenge for being forbidden to exercise authority in Protestant countries, cruelly persecuted English and other heretics who ventured to enter Italy, killing some, throwing some into prison, and sending others to the galleys. "Three weeks ago," wrote the Cardinal D'Ossat, in a letter dated Rome, June 23d, 1595, "a Fleming was burnt alive in the Campo de Fiori, *because he would not be converted.*" About the same time, an Englishman, about thirty years of age, a native of London, met the host in procession, and, filled with that horror and indignation which they only can conceive who

have felt the same, as if he had passed into a region of blasphemy, where the people were in open revolt against the Majesty of Heaven, he knocked the pyx out of the hand of the priest who carried it, exclaiming that it was an idol. He must have heard of the horrid punishment of William Gardiner in Lisbon, for striking the chalice and the wafer out of the priest's hand when massing in the cathedral; but, with the certainty of a like death, he acted. Five days after, as soon as the Sacred Congregation could dispatch the forms, he was led from the prison of the Inquisition back to that spot, where his hand was cut off, and his tongue cut out; then he was scorched with blazing torches, and, after being so tormented, they burnt him alive in presence of the people.\*

I may now produce documentary evidence of the control exercised by the Cardinal-Inquisitors over all the Inquisitions of Italy, in pursuance of the design which led to the appointment of that Sacred Congregation. Twenty years after that event, a Manual was published bearing date of 1608,—and probably one of many similar,—containing "Brief Instructions in the Manner of treating Causes of the Holy Office, for the Very Reverend Vicars of the Holy Inquisition, appointed in the Dioceses of Modona," (Módena,) "Carpi, Nonantola, and the Garfagnana." It was printed in Modena, and bears the signature of F. Michel Angelo Lerri, Inquisitor of Modena. The Manual is very brief, and looks insignificantly small, if compared with the folio of Eymeric and Peña, to which the reader is referred as the standard authority. It is in Italian, for the benefit of the very reverend Vicars, to whom Latin reading might not have been so easy; and repeats the directions which I have compendiated, from that source, in preceding chapters.

Lerri exhorts his vicars to encourage the denouncers of heretics to persevere, heedless of the reproach of being spies of the Holy Office, because they would not be discovered; or, if by any means they were detected, they ought not to fear the name, since, in time of plague, men would do anything to stay the contagion, regardless of consequences; and for

\* Mendham's "Pontificate of St. Pius V." London, 1822. Page 120.



what they do now, in zeal for the Lord, they shall be rewarded in heaven. With extreme earnestness he enforces the usual injunctions on all concerned to observe the most profound secrecy, and instructs the notary how to *disguise* or *falsify* the summaries of evidence, that the prisoners may not have the slightest clue for conjecturing who has testified against them. As for the methods of extorting self-accusation, he is explicit enough, so far as he goes, but stays at the point where torture would be mentioned, as if he wished it to be employed sparingly by the subalterns, and rather inflicted under his own eye. "Many other things," he writes, "have to be observed concerning the defences of the criminal; but as it is our intention that the cases shall be dispatched in the Holy Office of this city, and that when they reach this stage, and defences have to be made, processes ended, and sentence given, the criminals be in prison here, we add no more." And, in every case, he reserves to himself the ultimate decision on their reports.

Among the standing directions to the Vicars, there is one to publish, or cause to be published, the General Edict of the Holy Office three times every year in all places under his jurisdiction,—on Corpus Christi Day, on the first Sunday in Advent, and on the first in Lent. They are to send him monthly reports of all their proceedings, omitting no particular, however minute. They are "admonished that when they have received any information, or formed any process, they are not to speak of it, nor make the least allusion to it, to any one except the notary concerned. If any one comes to ask a question concerning the Holy Office, they are to rebut the question, and reprove the inquirer, telling him that the affairs of the Holy Office cannot be disclosed to any one, and always affirming that they know nothing about it. Above all, they must not allow it to be known who has given information, or borne witness, or they will be severely punished for divulging what is to be concealed; and of this they must warn their notaries. And if any one comes to ask favour for any criminal, they must answer him vaguely, that his case will be disposed of as early as possible, and such mercy as the Office is wont to use will be shown him. And if any person writes letters on behalf of any criminal,

they shall not on any account answer them, except after express permission had from their lord, Pope Paul V." That is to say, they are to make inquisition on others, but no one is to make it on them.

Clement VIII., be it observed, had said that the judges and officers of the Inquisition were to do everything gratuitously; and Inquisitor Lerri said something of the same kind. But he appended to the Manual, for the government of his vicars, the table of fees which appears literally translated at the foot of this page. In the Manual, it comes under the head of "Instructions from the Congregation in Rome." For payment, he informed them, lands were not to be seized, but the amount of charges might be levied on fruits and rents.\* For being torn from the bosom of his

\* "TO THE NOTARY.

For making out the summary .....	scudo 1 of gold ;
and if the process be long, the labour shall be considered.	
For each page of the summary.....	bol. 4.
For each letter.....	bol. 3.
For any citation of witnesses .....	bol. 2.
For the citation of the criminal .....	bol. 3.
For the decree of defence .....	bol. 2.
For each witness in defence .....	bol. 6.
For any kind of security .....	bol. 20.
For every page of the copy of the process .....	bol. 4.
And when a copy of the process itself is not given, for every page of the said process .....	bol. 2.
For every page of the copy of defensive process .....	bol. 5.
For the decree of torture .....	bol. 2.
For the torture .....	bol. 10.
For the citation to the sentence .....	bol. 4.
For the sentence .....	scudo 1 of gold.
For the copy of the sentence .....	bol. 20.
For the relaxation (delivery to the stake) .....	bol. 10.
For the Congregation .....	bol. 10.
For the visit to the house of the criminal .....	bol. 20.

TO THE LORD FISCAL.

For any witness, at instance of the criminal.....	bol. 12.
For the torture.....	bol. 20.
For the Congregation .....	bol. 20.
For the visit to the house .....	bol. 40.
For the sentence .....	scudo 1 of gold.

TO THE SERJEANTS.

For the capture of the criminal in the city .....	scudo 1 of gold ;
when this takes place out of town, regard must be had to the distance.	

family, for each act of malignant accusation laid against himself, for every stage of suffering, for imprisonment, for torture, and even for being carried to the stake, the victim was to pay. Ruffians and tormentors were to be bought at his own cost, to murder him by piece-meal, and then to keep the secret. Who can wonder after this that assassinations have been done in Italy for hire?

The perusal of these instructions, as of all documents relating to the Inquisition, and of incidental allusions to them occurring in other writings, leaves the impression that it was very active, and meddled with all the affairs of political, domestic, and social life. But it is also certain that popular and tumultuary resistance had given place to another kind of reaction, and that the acts and pretensions of Inquisitors were canvassed in relation to the controversy between the secular and ecclesiastical powers,—a controversy which contributes much to the history of Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

A memorable quarrel of Paul V. with the Republic of Venice, when he excommunicated the Venetians, closed in a formal reconciliation in the year 1607. Contarini, the Venetian ambassador, had an audience of the Pope, who pledged himself that he would not remember anything that had passed; and solemnly appropriated to the occasion a sentiment, if not a sentence, of Holy Scripture. "*Recedant vetera, nova sint omnia*," said he:—"Let old things pass away, let all be new." Then, to assure the Republic that Venice had nothing more to fear from himself, he gave the benediction to all; and the memory of past offences seemed to be wiped clean out: but the chief offenders were not forgiven. Among these, perhaps first of them, were Fra Paolo Sarpi,

For the torture .....	bol. 40.
For the visit to the house .....	bol. 20.
For accompanying the criminal to the sentence .....	bol. 40;
and for this regard shall be had to their trouble and danger.	

"As for the jailor, that is left to the discretion of the Inquisitor; and in the said list of fees (*tassa*) there is not any mention made of it. That the Inquisitors, or vicars, for the future, may not apply pecuniary penalties for the benefit of the Holy Office, or of any other places, without first giving a statement of the same to the Sacred Congregation of Rome. And this is by order of the said Sacred Congregation. And let this suffice for the present," &c.

historian of the Council of Trent, and Fulgencio Manfredi, his friend. They were both invited to Rome; but *Sarpi* was too wise to be decoyed, and therefore assassins were employed to kill him at home; but he escaped from their hands, alive indeed, but severely wounded. On seeing that the ruffians were fled, he coolly delivered that memorable piece of wit, "*Agnosco stylum Romanum*;" which may be translated, either, "I recognise the Roman style," or, "I know the Roman dagger."

*Manfredi* was less wary, and could not resist an invitation to the great city. He left Venice in August, 1608, with a safe-conduct containing a clause that nothing should be done to his dishonour; and that promise was considered necessary, because he was then under suspicion of heresy, on account of some plain things he had written during the quarrel, and some passages in sermons that he had preached in Venice. These offences, too, were much aggravated by his having held friendly intercourse with Sir Henry Wotton, British ambassador to his Republic, and with that admirable Irishman, Bedell, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore; and by his "extolling and commending the kingdom of England."

That he might more easily obtain the pardon of their Lord God, as they chose to speak, the Inquisitors made him their prisoner, and coolly declared that the safe-conduct was meant for his *coming*, not for his *returning*. Then, dealing with him as a person who had surrendered himself to them by coming of his own accord,—whereas he had been enticed by flatteries and false promises,—they decreed that he should visit the seven privileged churches within and without the walls of Rome; that for the next five years he should recite, weekly, the seven penitential psalms, with certain litanies, orisons, and prayers; and fast rigorously every Friday during the same period. The Commissary of the Inquisition, seated in state in the palace of the Holy Office, pronounced the sentence; Manfredi heard it, kneeling. The penance was easy, although the detention in Rome was tedious, and Manfredi hoped to see Venice again in five years' time. But that was a vain hope, for they were artfully leading him to the stake.

“Actually touching with his hands the Holy Gospels of God which lay in view, he abjured, execrated, and declared his abhorrence of the heresies and errors of which he was adjudged to be very strongly suspected,” and signed a schedule of abjuration drawn up by the Inquisition, in exceedingly ample terms, for that purpose. By attaching his signature to this document, he was made to swear and promise that he would “never again preach, utter, or put forward, either publicly or privately, similar assertions, nor keep, nor read, either book or writing containing heretical and condemned doctrine; nor do anything by reason of which it might be *possible* to form such a suspicion against him. Independently of the usual engagements to denounce heretics and suspected persons, and to observe all penances enjoined on him by the Holy Office, which engagements were too broad and too indefinite to be fulfilled by any man, the special obligations of this bond were so framed as to ensnare him daily; and when he recited the minute abjurations and promises, word for word, and, after all, subscribed, “I, Fra Fulgenzio, with my own hand,” he, in effect, signed his own death-warrant.

Fra Paolo Sarpi, who anxiously watched the proceedings taken against his friend, describes what followed:—

“Matters passed on with him, sometimes well, sometimes ill, according as he was looked on, till February last, (1610,) and then, one evening, Cardinal Pamfilio, the Pope’s Vicar, sent some serjeants to apprehend him, pretending that he had done something, I know not what, that came within his jurisdiction. They put him into prison in the Tower of Nona, a common jail. Then they went to seize his papers; and, having looked into them, removed him from that place to the prison of the Inquisition. There they drew up three charges against him.

“1. That he had among his books some that were prohibited.

“2. That he carried on correspondence, by letters, with heretics of England and Germany.

“3. That there was a writing, all of his own hand, containing various articles against the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church; particularly, that St. Peter was not superior

to the other Apostles ; that the Pope is not head of the Church ; that the Pope cannot command anything beyond what Christ has commanded ; that the Council of Trent was neither a General Council nor a lawful one ; that there are many heresies in the Church of Rome ; and a great many other things.

“ To these charges he answered :—

“ 1. As to the books, that he did not know they were prohibited.

“ 2. As to the correspondence by letter that had taken place between himself and those persons, they were none of them declared heretics.

“ 3. As to the writings that were under his own hand, they were imperfect ; and they were not his opinions, but only memoranda for consideration on those points.

“ At which answers of his the Inquisition being unsatisfied, they resolved to proceed against him by way of torture ; which being intimated to him, he answered, that he was not a person to be put to torture ; but, however, they might do as they pleased, for he cast himself upon their mercy. On the 4th of July he was brought into St. Peter's, where there was an unspeakable throng of people ; and being there placed upon a platform, his faults were rehearsed, and the sentence passed on him, that he should be excluded from the bosom of Holy Church as a heretic relapsed, and delivered over to the Governor of Rome, to be chastised with a whip of bull's hide, but without fetching blood.\*

“ At this ceremony, which lasted about an hour, Fra Fulgenzio stood with his eyes lifted up to heaven, and never spake a word. People thought he had a gag in his mouth. The ceremony being over, he was conducted to the church of St. Saviour in Lauro, and there degraded ; and next morning he was brought to the Campo de' Fiori,” (the Roman Smithfield,) “ and there hanged and burned.”

\* Father Paul relates the matter according to his best information ; but it appears from the summary, as published by Mr. Gibbing from the original MS., that Manfredi had been *already* tortured, and that torture might have been by scourging. But on the 4th of July he was delivered over in the usual manner to the secular arm, which, in this case, was the Governor of Rome, distinguished, by a legal fiction, from the Pope, his master.

The words "hanged and burned" may seem to intimate that the penalty of death was mitigated by allowing him to be strangled, and the body burnt afterwards. As I have not the original of Father Paul's letter at hand, I cannot judge. He was murdered, whether by rope or flame it matters not.\* The signature of "R. Card<sup>lis</sup> Bellarminus" appears as one of eleven Inquisitors who set their hands to his condemnation, and whose autographs appear in *fac-simile* in the valuable pamphlet to which I am indebted for this narrative.

Another notable example of the dealing of the Roman Court and Inquisition with eminent foreigners is found in the diplomatic correspondence of the time. I copy from Winwood's "Memorials," word for word, what they say of l'Abbé de Bois, a distinguished Frenchman. Under date of Paris, November 28th, 1611, M. Beaulieu, secretary of the British ambassador, writes,—

"These honest men," (the Jesuits,) "by their villainous dealings and practices, do more and more draw the hatred and curse of the world upon themselves; and by an accident lately fallen out, which is imputed unto them, they are likely to incur the indignation of the rest of the clergy more than ever; and that is in the person of one l'Abbé de Bois, a man very famous here, both for his gallant preaching, and for his knowledge in matters of the world; who (upon the coming forth of Bellarmine's new book,† which did put all the world in an uproar) did preach in one of the greatest churches in this town, very fully and effectually, both against the Pope's temporality and the practices of the Jesuits; who, to clear themselves in some sort of those imputations, did by their cunning and artifice draw him afterwards to make in private a kind of recantation, and ever since to hold his tongue against them. Notwithstanding the which, his former deed remaining still *altâ mente repostum*, they found the means, by

\* "Report of Proceedings in the Roman Inquisition against Fulgetio Manfredi." By Rev. Richard Gibbins, M.A. London, 1852.

† Bellarmine's answer to George Barclay, in which he maintains that the Pope has rightful authority to depose heretical kings. Happy times are the present for their lordships the reviewers, when we authors are not invested, like that cardinal, with inquisitorial powers. If we were, I fear we should be tempted to place some of our censors under discipline.

the Nuncio's allurements, to persuade him to go to Rome, whither he took his journey two or three months ago, carrying with him also some commission from the Queen, whose almoner he is. But now the news is, that they yonder, *luy ayans jetté le chat aux jambes*, have put him in the Inquisition, from whence he is not like in haste to come out. Which act doth exceedingly much offend all the world here, especially those of the clergy ; but some think there is a further mystery therein, which I will forbear to relate."

A letter from Sir Dudley Carleton, British ambassador at Venice, December 13th, supplies what M. Beaulieu forbears to relate:—

"I doubt not but you have heard ere this of the Abbot de Bois his voyage to Florence and to Rome, together with his surprisal there by the Inquisition, which hath given occasion to very much discourse, both in regard of the violating of the law of nations, he being at that instant an agent for the Crown of France, and authorized with letters of credit, as also by their breaking their word and faith passed to him in a safe-conduct for his passage before his coming toward them. Not long after his arrest, there was one executed in the Campo de' Fiori four hours before day, and suddenly cut down and buried. Which, though it were done of purpose that the French might not be too openly scandalized, for the care of whose reputation they did likewise give out that it was an Italian priest *della Crocetta* that was then put to death ; yet could they not dissemble the matter so secretly but that it is frequently written, and certainly believed, that the poor abbot did penance at Rome for the sermons he had preached in Paris against the Jesuits." \*

While relating these instances of encroachment on the rights of nations by the Roman Inquisition, which is identical with the Pope and Court of Rome, I would draw attention to a succession of Papal acts which give the Roman Inquisition direct authority within the walls of monasteries and convents all over the world. So long as there exists a Pope, the authority continues ; and so long as the Secret of the religious houses and the Secret of the yet remaining Roman Inquisition are equally

\* Winwood's " Memorials," vol. iii., pp. 307, 308, 311, 312.



maintained, and so long, also, as those houses have in our country the inviolability of private dwellings, the inspection of convents, long desired, indeed, but hitherto successfully resisted, should be perseveringly demanded, as necessary for the protection of the inmates. The Roman Congregation of Cardinals was established in the year 1542, to be a "Supreme and Universal Inquisition." A document\* was issued to all the Spanish monasteries in the year 1633 by the Inquisitor-General of Spain, Sotomayor, wherein are recited certain constitutions of Julius III., successor of the Pope who formed that Congregation, and of eight other Pontiffs after him, especially Gregory XV., who issued seven other mandates in support of the Inquisition; and all this body of persecuting law, with whatever addition to it may have since been made, was to be enforced in England no less than in Spain. This is worse, ten thousand times worse, than any suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* made, on an extreme emergency, by Parliamentary authority, as a measure inevitably necessary to enable some public authority to act under the searching scrutiny of the public eye for the sake of public safety, that authority being still responsible to the Crown for all its decisions, and amenable to those Divinely-promulgated laws which never can be set aside.

\* *Manual de Confesores ad Mentem Scoti, por el R. P. F. Juan de Ascargota.* Madrid, 1764, pp. 416.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### ITALY: CONGREGATION OF THE CARDINALS—DE DOMINIS.

AN Italian archbishop, "a most crafty broker in matters of religion," as our jocose Fuller calls him, makes a conspicuous figure in the history of the Inquisition. I shall not hastily agree with Fuller in his estimate of this personage; but whether he was a hypocrite or a sincere convert when he joined the Church of England, it is indisputable that the Cardinals displayed consummate cunning in decoying him into their power, and persecuting him even to the grave.

In the year 1616, in the reign of James I. of England, *Marcantonio de Dominis*, who had been fourteen years Archbishop of Spalato, in Dalmatia, in the Venetian territory, came over to England, and presented himself in the character of a convert to the Protestant religion. A dispassionate consideration of his entire history will perhaps lead to the persuasion that he was really disgusted with Romanism, shared in the Venetian antipathy to Rome, and thought well of the English Reformation; however defective he may have been in that earnest and self-denying piety which is necessary for any man to bear himself with unwavering consistency through evil report and good report. He had quarrelled with Pope Paul V. and the Roman Rota on a question of money, was worsted in the contest, abandoned the see of Spalato, and went into the Netherlands. Perhaps his republican associations may have for the moment disposed him to a kindred ecclesiastical system; but he found Presbyterianism in practice quite uncongenial with his long established habits and real principles, and therefore left those congregations, and came over to London.

Incredible multitudes of people flocked to look upon the

foreign Archbishop, come over to make an offering of his dignity in honour of the Reformation. Impoverished as he was by the abandonment of his revenue in Dalmatia, it appeared right to supply his wants; and prelates and peers, with characteristic delicacy, presented him with gifts of high value. "He was feasted wherever he came; and the Universities, when he visited them, addressed themselves to him in their solemn reception, as if he himself alone had been an university." The King rejoiced that Rome had lost such a jewel, fallen to the crown of England. As if to compensate at once for the defection of many English youth, tolled out of our Universities into Italy, there to learn treason and heresy at the same time, hither came an aged and distinguished prelate, unsought and unexpected, and worth more than all those novices together. His Majesty consigned him to Archbishop Abbot for present entertainment, until he could be provided with suitable accommodation in the Church of England; and sent him, as an earnest of royal bounty, a splendid basin and bowl of silver. The basin, as De Dominis interpreted, to signify that he must wash away the filth of the Roman Church; and the bowl, to invite him to drink of Gospel purity.

While at Lambeth, he assisted in the consecration of some English bishops. Preferments followed. The Dalmatian Archbishop received the deanery of Windsor, "one of the genteeldest and entirest dignities of the land," the mastership of the Savoy, and a good parsonage in Berkshire. Fuller descants, in his accustomed style, on the affluence and magnificence of his new condition, and relates anecdotes to show that the stranger was avaricious and overbearing. Perhaps he was: an ecclesiastical change by no means implies a spiritual conversion.

De Dominis now applied himself with great diligence to the correction and completion of works he had begun in Italy, but could not publish there without incurring the vengeance of his Church. "His works, being three fair folios *De Republicâ Ecclesiasticâ*, gave ample testimony to his sufficiency. Indeed, he had a controversial head, with a strong and clear style, nor doth a hair hang at the nib of his pen to blur his writings with obscurity; but, first understanding

himself, he could make others understand him. His writings are of great use for the Protestant cause." Yet Fuller, who cannot speak without laughing, laughs at him for saying that in reading, meditation, and writing, he was almost pined away; whereas "his fat cheeks did confute his false tongue in that expression." Fat as his cheeks might be, he was no idle man, as those works testify, and others written after them; in all which he vigorously attacked the Papacy, and produced a profound sense of discomfiture at Rome.

Meanwhile, the same craft that had entangled Manfredi was prepared to take De Dominis, and measured its appliances by the magnitude of the object to be attained. Calumny is the ready missile ever launched by the Inquisition after fugitives. Count Gundemaro, Spanish Ambassador at the Court of London, undertook to vilify the illustrious convert; and one day, stung, or pretending to be stung, by a playful repartee that escaped his lips in an unguarded moment, the Spaniard repaired to King James, and volunteered to detect the hypocrisy of this Italian. English clergymen—perhaps themselves not quite exempt from the infirmity they spied in the stranger—already began to regard with envy the aspirant after dignities and emoluments which ought not, as they conceived, to be conferred on an Italian; and they found nothing more easy than to exhibit his weaknesses under the most unfavourable aspect. They provoked him to resent petty indignities unworthy of themselves as Christians and gentlemen, and the more grievous when contrasted with the headlong admiration at first lavished on him by themselves; and, having thrown him off his guard, reported his indiscreet expressions. No doubt he gave utterance to feelings of disappointment, and even of disgust. Observing this, Gundemaro reported to his master the King of Spain that, if the Pope would make an overture of pardon to De Dominis, it would be readily accepted.

One of the Cardinals wrote to Gundemaro, informing him that Gregory XV., mindful of old friendship with De Dominis, forgave and forgot all that he had written or done against the Catholic religion, and on his return would prefer him to the archbishopric of Salerno, worth twelve thousand crowns yearly; and hinted the probability of a red hat in

addition. Conditions, however, were enclosed, which De Dominis would subscribe if he accepted the proposal. The bait was taken. He wrote his name. Gundemaro went again to the King, and showed him that signature in proof of the double-dealing of the man whom he was employed to ruin. But there was no double-dealing on part of the Archbishop; for instantly on receipt of the Pope's overture, he wrote a letter to King James, by which it appeared that Paul V. had previously sent messages to the same effect, and that he was allowed to imagine himself an acknowledged agent for "advancing and furthering the union of all Christian churches,"—a vain idea, often encouraged by King James himself, and weakly cherished by many prelates and clergy of the Church of England ever since the Reformation. He therefore asked permission to quit the kingdom, honestly avowing correspondence with Rome in these plain words: "If my business proceed, and be brought to a good end, I will hope that I shall obtain Your Majesty's good leave to depart, without any diminution of Your Majesty's wonted favour towards me."

James I., who had himself carried on secret correspondence with the Pope, ought not to have been too severe on this ecclesiastic; but he treated the resignation as an offence, sent a party of bishops to examine him, and soon afterward appointed a formal Commission to try him for changing his religion again, and corresponding with the Pope. Archbishop Abbot, who presided on that occasion, commanded De Dominis, in the King's name, to quit England within twenty days, and never to return again. "To this he promised obedience; protesting that he would ever justify the Church of England, as orthodox in fundamentals, even in the presence of the Pope, or whomsoever, *though with the loss of his life.*"

Distressed with misgivings, he left England, but not until he had made an ineffectual effort to induce the King to revoke the sentence, and allow him to remain. Six tedious months he waited in Brussels for a safe-conduct, but none came; and at length, desperately trusting in the friendship of Gregory XV., because that Pope was formerly a companion of his own, he ventured to Rome; aban-

doned unjustly, as he thought, by his too hasty English friends, and at the same time marked as a heretic by the Inquisition.\*

Bzovius, a bigoted Dominican, busy in the compilation of his *Annals*, was lodged in the Vatican when De Dominis returned to Rome, and took so great interest in his history as to insert it in that work, without any regard to the order of chronology.† I avail myself of his narrative to describe more particularly the sad conclusion. According to Bzovius, the Inquisition had cited him to appear at Rome within six months, on hearing of his flight from Spalato. He was therefore, while feasted in London, a fugitive from Rome, and no more than a fugitive, although invited back for a bishopric and a cardinal's hat. Still he lay under the ban of the Holy Office. His books condemned, himself excommunicated, and deprived of all dignities, benefices, and offices, he was doomed to suffer punishment according to the Canons. But when Gundemaro intimated that he was willing to renew his connexion with Rome, it became desirable to keep this condemnation out of sight; and perhaps Gregory XV., not privy to the dark scheme of the Inquisitors, thought that he was exercising mercy, when he welcomed back one who would appear as a returning prodigal. The archbishopric of Salerno was promised, but it came not, nor yet the dignity of cardinal. They gave him a house, indeed, and servants, and allowances for the maintenance of a considerable train, together with a liberal ecclesiastical pension. He seemed so richly provided, although not intrusted with any church or charge, that some elder brothers complained of the excessive bounty wasted on this prodigal, they being far more worthy. But "it was meet that we should make merry and be glad," said Gregory; "for this your brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found."

Gregory died; and his successor, Urban VIII., was not bound by promises, nor influenced by good-will. The ecclesiastical pension and the residence were not discontinued,

\* Fuller's "Church History," book x., cent. xvii., A.D. 1622. Collier's "Ecclesiastical History," part ii., book viii.

† *Bzovii Annales Ecclesiastici*, A.D. 1479. Num. 11-25.

but no pains were spared to criminate him. Every word and action was watched most searchingly. A printed paper describing him as a *penitent* was in every person's hands, but a thousand tongues pronounced him a heretic relapsed. Reports of malicious words and contemptuous gestures attributed to Pope Gregory's prodigal circulated everywhere. Many took occasion to talk with him on religion; men pretending great friendship and liberality villainously drew him off his guard. These persons related that he gave no signs of penitence or modesty, but seemed like one exulting in a triumph. To one of them, Cardinal Barberino, if Barberino told the truth, he spoke proudly of the honour shown him by the Cardinals; and this Cardinal boasted again of having made him an ironical reply: "No wonder. For not only with angels in heaven, but with men on earth, there is joy over one sinner that repenteth." They said that he was not ashamed of the errors he had abjured on his return to Rome, and that he talked much of a Concordat that ought to be made with Protestants. "As if," cries Bzovius, "there could be communion between light and darkness, or concord between Christ and Belial." Religious, pious, and prudent men, says the annalist, admonished him. They reminded him of his escape from the detestable society of heretics, his written abjuration, and a yet unfulfilled promise to publish an elaborate confutation of his own writings. But if ever he made such a promise, it was more than he could be willing, perhaps more than he was able, to perform.

Still he went on talking of "that abominable union" between the Churches of Rome and England, and then again depreciating the authority of Councils in general, and of the Council of Trent in particular. All this might be true, but such talking was forbidden, even to greater men than he; and therefore the Inquisitors had all made ready to their hand. They now interfered, arrested him, sent him to the Castle of St. Angelo; sparing *his rank*, not *him*, from incarceration in their own dungeons. They say that he was intending flight when taken, but that in St. Angelo he enjoyed every comfort, and every mark of honour consistent with his condition as a prisoner. After his arrest, the Inquisitors took possession of his papers, and found writings

which they described as full of heresy, with proposals of indulgence to Protestants, and a notion insisted on that the Decrees of the Council of Trent, being mere acts of discipline, might be revoked. And they further say that, even within the walls of St. Angelo, he boldly persisted in advocating the same "execrable concord;" which, however, was just what he protested, in England, he meant to do. Although bodily in Rome, they said, his heart was still with the heretics. And so, indeed, it seemed to be.

Amidst this controversy he fell sick. The Pope, says Bzovius, treated him kindly, sent him food, and commanded his own physicians—the very last men whom a prisoner could wish to see—to attend on him. A Cardinal paid him visits, and so did some officers of the Inquisition. It is said that, in their presence, he confessed and abjured the heresies of which he had been guilty, gave signs of repentance, and received the sacraments; rendering thanks to God that *the pressure of imprisonment* had given him occasion to think seriously of the salvation of his soul, and to see the light which he had formerly been so blinded as not to perceive. This done, he expired.

No one who has acquainted himself with the value of evidence given by Inquisitors can attach much credit to this account of the last hours of De Dominis. The Romans could not believe that he had died a natural death; and therefore, to silence all calumnious reports, physicians of various nations, says Bzovius, went to examine the corpse. Fuller learnt from relatives of the deceased in Venice that the examiners were four sworn physicians of the Pope, who made some kind of inspection of the corpse, and on their oath deposed that "no impression of violence was visible thereupon." It was easy to assert that the Inquisitors had not smothered or stabbed him, but an assertion that they had not poisoned him would not, in Italy, be so readily believed; and although the rumour of poison was hushed, the Inquisitors were not content with having induced people to keep silence. They directed the body to be buried out of sight; but they compelled four of his relatives, then in Rome, to appear before themselves, and then invited them to plead



in justification of his religious opinions. Those persons came, indeed, but durst not plead for him, and thereby convict themselves; and in their silence the Inquisitors arrived at their own conclusion.

“Then, on a day appointed, (December 21st, 1624,) at early dawn, so great a multitude thronged the church of St. Mary above Minerva, that the gates had not only to be shut, but barricaded, and the approaches to the place were choked with people, so that the Cardinals themselves could scarcely pass. The grand nave of the building was partitioned off with boards above the height of a tall man on both sides, from the first pillar to the fourth. At each end of this enclosure Swiss guards kept the entrances. Temporary galleries at the sides were filled with cardinals, dignitaries, and courtiers. On the right side of the chief entrance sat the Sacred Senate, and on the left the ministers of the Holy Inquisition, and the Prefect of the city, with his officers. Before the pulpit was exhibited an effigy of Mark Anthony (De Dominis), dressed in plain black, with a clerical cap in its hand, and a paper whereon was written his name, surname, and former title as archbishop. There, too, was a wooden coffin, smeared with pitch, containing the corpse itself. Beyond this enclosure, a crowd of people filled all parts of the building, in order to catch if it were but a distant sound of the ceremony that went on within; and as the year of Jubilee was at hand, the city was everywhere crowded with strangers from every nation under heaven.

“A strong-voiced clerk then read aloud, in Italian, the sentence of the Cardinal-Inquisitors, setting forth that Mark Anthony had relapsed into heresy, incurred all the censures and penalties in such a case denounced, was degraded from all honours and benefices, his memory condemned, and he cast out of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. His body and picture were to be delivered to the Prefect of the city, that the due penalties might be executed upon them, according to the rule and practice of the Church. His writings were to be burnt, and his goods confiscated to the Inquisition.” And it is wonderful to tell with what attention and silence all this was heard, and with how great apparent approbation of all it was received.

Then the civic authorities took charge of the body, which still hung together, for the putrid flesh had not yet forsaken the bones. It was dragged out of the coffin, so that the skull and chest might be visible ; and the loathsome mass, together with a bundle of books, was thrown upon a large pile of wood, and consumed before the multitude in the Campo de' Fiori. There was no fear in those days of detection of poisoning by *post mortem* chemical analysis.

Having related the last act of burning, Bzovius adds, with an affectation of pity, " O that the fire may not burn in hell him whom it consumed on earth ; and O that he who departed out of the way while he was with us, and caused many to stumble at the law, departing from us without true repentance, may find his way to heaven, and have joy in the presence of the angels of God ! "

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

## ITALY: CONGREGATION OF THE CARDINALS—THE QUIETISTS.

NEITHER piety nor the semblance of piety found any indulgence. The most flagrant violations of decency were passed over with scarcely a rebuke, while the inexorable censors of canonical orthodoxy visited every departure from the legal standard with certain punishment. The history of Molinos, father of the Mysticism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is perhaps the most signal confirmation of this statement that modern times afford. Not for a moment confounding Quietism with the Christianity of the Bible, we take note of the means employed to put it down.

*Miguel Molinos* was a Spaniard, a native of Aragon, of respectable family, and, if rumour may be trusted, of Jewish or Moorish descent. He studied theology at Pamplona, and then at Coimbra, where he was honoured with a doctor's degree. Although ordained priest, he never had any sort of benefice, nor was he attached to any particular church, but lived on his patrimony, and was as independent of ecclesiastical control as a man could be. He was of unblamable conduct, and enjoyed the reputation of piety, and the friendship of many of the clergy, especially of Palafox, Archbishop of Seville. Having removed from Spain to Italy, he there conciliated general esteem, and was described as pious, candid, modest, humble, and eminently successful in communicating his views to others. His manners were kindly and cheerful, and his conversation unusually spiritual, yet quite free from affectation, and uniformly unobtrusive. "So strong was the persuasion of his piety," says the Cardinal Celestino Sfondrati, "which he simulated most accurately, and thereby

imposed on most persons, that prelates and noble matrons resorted to him from all quarters for the direction of their conscience." And another of his enemies tells us that "with fair words he deceived boys, girls, women, nobles, princes, and even the learned, who would not believe themselves deceived, but persisted in their sin." Nay, "cardinals, bishops, generals of orders, princes, counts, nobles of both sexes, merchants, and rustics all adored him." It is clear, then, that he must have been an extraordinary man to sway so general and so powerful an influence.

Yet he placed no high value on the favours of the great, which he often found to be deceitful, but persevered in his chosen studies, and laboured incessantly for the propagation of his opinions. A book, under the title of "Spiritual Guide," was the first-fruit of those labours. The book soon appeared in various languages, was repeated in many editions, and was admired and quoted all over Europe. At first, no one saw any heresy in the "Spiritual Guide;" and the whole Court of Rome, including the Inquisition itself, acquiesced in the applause universally poured on its author. They called it an inestimable work; they commended it as most wholesome nourishment for the Lord's flock. It passed for a choice morsel of mystic piety, such as devotees delighted in, and the Church in general approved. Cardinal Petrucci, too, wrote a work of the same kind; and, for a time, these two men bore away the admiration of Italy. But the Jesuits, unwilling to be second in the scale of spiritual honours, while possessing the famous Exercises of their founder, moved the Inquisition to scrutinize the writings both of Molinos and Petrucci. The writings were examined, but not condemned, and the Jesuits were disappointed. Disappointment became to them, as usual, the strongest stimulant of perseverance.

Father La Chaise, a Jesuit, confessor of Louis XIV., urged that zealot to take up the matter, trusting that if the Inquisition again failed to do its duty, Louis would prove himself another Innocent, and that the Royal Senate would supply the place of the Holy Office. In Rome, the French Cardinal D'Etrées, who had professed himself a bosom friend of Molinos, declared that he had only counterfeited friendship

the more certainly to detect the heresy; and avowed that he had thus acted in pursuance of instructions from his master. What else he did was perhaps best known to the Inquisitors; but the effect was felt when, in May, 1685, Molinos was unexpectedly arrested. They threw him into prison; and although he had often received favours from Innocent XI., the favour of that Pope now availed him nothing. His papers, chiefly consisting of letters,—and of these there was a great number,—were seized and examined, but no evidence of heresy could be extracted from them. Nevertheless he remained in prison. A taint of suspicion now spoiled his reputation; and charges of immorality—charges that are always congenial to the popular taste, and always credited in Popish countries—supplemented charges of heresy. The reason of all this was that the Jesuits were determined to crush him, and the Inquisitors were well pleased to be the instruments.

Molinos, now made heresiarch, could not suffer alone. Seventy persons were thrown into the *Minerva* at the same time; among whom were the Count and Countess Vespini-ani, and the confessor of the Prince Borghese, with many other persons distinguished for learning, and of high repute for piety, according to the new method of “*Quiet*.” These persons, it was said, neglected outward religion under pretence of cultivating inward, and gave themselves to solitude and private prayer. The Countess Vespini-ani, undaunted even in the Inquisition, used the opportunities allowed by the easier kind of custody usual in such cases, to make it known that her confessor, the only person to whom she ever divulged her private opinion on the subject, must have broken the seal of confession; for she now heard statements repeated by others that could never have been made by any one but herself. The Roman public were irritated; and the Inquisitors found it necessary to turn aside the tempest of common indignation by releasing the illustrious pair. Yet the labours of “the police of conscience” were not relaxed; and in less than a month from the arrest of Molinos, not fewer than two hundred Quietists were under lock and key.

The praise of unhesitating and undistinguishing audacity must certainly be allowed to the Holy Office. Innocent XI.

had favoured Molinos, as founder of a more elevated fashion of devotion, and thus incurred a suspicion of heresy for himself. Consequently, on February 13th, 1687, Commissioners of the Holy Office went to the Pope, who submitted to be examined by them on the points in dispute; not as Christ's Vicar, than whom there could be none more holy, nor yet as the successor of St. Peter, than whom there could be none more mighty, but as plain Benedetto Odescalchi. The secret of that inquest was not made known, but neither was the fact concealed. It was a grand thing for the Roman Inquisition to do, and many were the strictures pronounced in whisper on the conduct of all parties concerned.

Two days after their secret examination of their lord and master, the "Sacred Congregation" committed a circular letter to Cardinal Cibo, as Chief Minister, for him to send to the bishops all over Italy. They said that in various places schools, companies, brotherhoods, or meetings, were assembled in churches, oratories, and private houses, with the title of Spiritual Conferences. Sometimes women only, sometimes men, sometimes both men and women, led by spiritual guides that were inexpert, and perhaps malicious, forsaking the way trodden by true saints, pursued that of prayer, quiet, and pure internal faith, as they were pleased to call it. At first they seemed to inculcate maxims of exquisite perfection, but at length broke out into open heresy and abominable lewdness, to the irreparable damage of those whom they deluded. The bishops were therefore commanded to watch over all new meetings, differing from such as were already practised and approved, and to abolish such. Spiritual directors (confessors) were to be content with walking in the beaten path of Christian perfection, without affecting any singularities. Above all, no suspected person was to be admitted to guide nuns, either by writing or voice; nor were such to enter monasteries, lest they should corrupt the spouses of the Lord with spiritual pestilence. If *prudence* failed to put an end to this new mischief, the bishops were to have recourse to *justice*. Meanwhile the matter was undergoing such consideration in Rome, that all Christendom might be made aware of the errors to be avoided.

“Justice” was quickly done. On the one hand, arrests continued, and Rome wondered at seeing persons hitherto accounted far above suspicion of heresy now plunged into the dungeons. Such was *Appiani*, one of the most eminent Jesuits, whom they apprehended on Sunday, the 1st of April. On the other hand, the theologians of the Holy Office were working hard, and soon issued a Censure of nineteen articles, said to be extracted from the writings of Molinos and other Quietists. The Censure contributed effectually to the suppression of the sect: but the circular to the bishops, which ought to have been written in Latin, and kept entirely secret, was in Italian; and, being found in every one’s hands, aroused general indignation. It was said that the Inquisitors were encountered with so much learning and courage by many of their prisoners, that they were perplexed and ashamed; and that the friends of the prisoners, gathering confidence from numbers, wrote threatening letters to the Cardinals of the Congregation, bidding them consider well what they were doing, and assuring their Eminences that the writers would maintain the cause of the persecuted, and, if it came to that, would seal it with their own blood.

After much anxiety on account of Molinos and his fellow-sufferers, the Italian laity saw with a certain satisfaction that the Inquisitors would content themselves with making the weight of their anger fall on him alone.

On the third day of September, 1687, Molinos was brought from his prison into the church of the Minerva. The Cardinals-Inquisitors were all there. He came in the usual penitential habit, carrying burning tapers in his hands, which were confined in manacles. The process was full of the foulest accusations, very long, and occupied several hours in the reading; the monks employed as readers relieving one another, while the poor handcuffed Quietist stood between servants of the Inquisition, without the least relief, to hear the outpouring of inquisitorial calumny. Cardinals, pretending to be scandalized at some of the passages, cried out, “*Al fuoco!*” “To the fire!” The vile crowd that, as usual, filled the place, took up the cry. When the reading was ended, Molinos expressed a wish to speak to the people; but that was not permitted. However, not being a penitent

relapsed, he was not gagged, and now and then affirmed his innocence in a low voice to those who stood near him. Conscious of innocence, he felt no shame, and therefore could not betray any, but stood with a serene countenance, mild, and even cheerful. Once, when the people were shouting, "To the fire," he smiled, and observed that they might be forgiven the uproar, as they were keeping a holiday, and wanted entertainment. And once he said that in himself they saw a man *defamed* indeed, but *penitent*.

So he went through the ceremony of public penance, abjured the propositions condemned in the written Censure, accepted absolution, and calmly walked away to a prison prepared for him in the Dominican monastery. On separating from the ecclesiastic who had attended him, he said, "Farewell, my father. We shall see each other again in the day of judgment, and then it will appear on whose side justice lies, on yours or mine."

The sentence was, Perpetual imprisonment, a rosary to be prayed over twice daily, and the Apostles' Creed recited once, three fasting-days every week, four confessions every year, and mass as often as his confessor might require. From September 3d, 1687, to December 20th, 1696, he languished in that prison, in sufferings unknown. The symptoms he was reported to have shown during the last three months were such as indicated the action of poison. Frequent vomitings might have been so caused; but at seventy years of age, and weary of life, it could not have needed much artificial force to push him into the grave. Inquisitors beset his death-bed, and boasted afterwards that he had given many signs of repentance. But such reports cannot be heard without incredulity, not to say disgust. A stone was laid upon his grave with this inscription: "HERE LIES THE BODY OF DON MOLINOS, A GREAT HERETIC."

Again let me say that Quietism is not the doctrine of the Gospel; but Molinos deserved pity; and we may revere the memory of a man who, dissatisfied with a religion of profitless externals, sought to find within himself the fruits of an indwelling Power. That which he sought for himself and others he might have found more fully, and might have learned the truth "as it is in Jesus," but for the error every-



where prevalent around him. As for the Jesuits and the Inquisition, the offence to them was not his Mysticism, but his departure from their prescribed idolatry.\*

Again and again we have observed the strong contrast constantly presented between the fiend-like severity wreaked upon the innocent and the pious, and the indulgence granted to the most worthless of mankind—criminals whom the Inquisitors were compelled to mark, but reluctant to punish. Cases of the sort have not been made conspicuous in the present history, for reasons of propriety, not to say of morality. One case, however, shall be noted now by way of illustration, that of one *Giuseppe Francesco Borri*, a Milanese quack, whose character may at least serve as a foil against that of the unfortunate Molinos. The two men were contemporary; and the same Inquisitors, from first to last, were dealing with them simultaneously.

Borri is described as a chemist, quack, and heretic. He was a student in the Roman Seminary, where the Jesuit masters admired him for his memory and capacity, although he was remarkably deficient in obedience; and lacking that most necessary of all virtues in that place, he left both the Seminary and the Jesuits. He then abandoned himself to the most extravagant immoralities; and in the year 1654 he was obliged to take refuge in a church, the place where criminals could find refuge when it failed them everywhere else.

Having thus escaped the lash of justice, he affected an extraordinary religious fervour, lamented the corruption of manners prevalent in Rome, but proclaimed that the time of recovery was near; the time when there would be but one fold on earth, and one shepherd, and that one the Pope. "Whosoever shall fail," he cried, "to enter that fold, shall be destroyed by the Pope's armies. God has predestined me to be the general of those armies. I am sure that they shall want nothing. I shall quickly finish my chemical labours by the happy production of the Philosopher's Stone, and by that

\* "Three Letters concerning the present State of Italy. Written in the year 1687 [from Rome]. Being a Supplement to Dr. Burnet's Letters." Letter i.

*Christ. Eberh. Weismanni Introductio in Memorabilia Ecclesiastica Historiæ Sacræ Nov. Testamenti. Pars Posterior, Sæc. xviii. Hist. Quietismi.*

means I shall have as much gold as is necessary for the business. I am sure of the assistance of the angels, and especially of Michael, the archangel. When I began to walk in the spiritual life, I had a vision in the night, attended with an angelical voice, which assured me that I should become a prophet."

Not finding much encouragement in Rome, where Alexander VII. did not appreciate his proffered services, he moved away to Milan, seeking honour in his own country. In Milan he played the devotee, gained credit, and gathered followers; whom he caused to perform certain spiritual exercises, binding them by an oath of secrecy and by many vows. One was a vow of poverty, for the more certain performance whereof he caused all the money that every one had to be consigned to himself. Like others of the same craft, he affirmed that he had received a sword from heaven; and now proclaimed that the Pope, holder of two swords, and no friend of his, was to be killed, if the requisite mark were not found on his forehead.

He taught that the blessed Virgin Mary was born of St. Ann, in the same manner as Jesus Christ our Lord was born of Mary. He called her the only daughter of God, conceived by the Holy Ghost; and caused words to that effect to be added to the mass, wherever his followers officiated. He said that her humanity was present in the Eucharist. He wrote a book for the use of his followers, who held meetings at night; but when he heard that the Inquisition had notice of their nocturnal meetings, he hid all his papers in a nunnery, where the Inquisitors found them; and, if the Inquisitors' report be true, which is very likely, they were full of monstrously blasphemous jargon. The party he had now formed were called *Evangelical Nationalists*; and it was his design to collect his forces in the great square of Milan, encourage the people to demand liberty, and take possession of the city. But the Inquisition imprisoned some of his disciples, who probably did not keep the oath of secrecy; and, fearing the same fate, he absconded from Milan.

After the usual formalities, the Inquisition condemned him for contumacy in 1659, and in 1660; and finally burnt his effigy in the Campo de' Fiori, on the 3d of January,

1661. This gave his name acceptance in Germany, and then in Holland; where the multitude thought all the better of him because Rome condemned him. He now set himself up as a physician, able to cure all diseases; appeared with a stately equipage, and took upon himself the title of Excellency. But his power of healing did not answer the expectations he had endeavoured to raise, and the tide of popularity ebbed rapidly. In Amsterdam he became bankrupt, and fled one night, carrying away a great many jewels and sums of money which he had pilfered. Yet at Hamburg he was protected by Queen Christina, and at Copenhagen by the King. This notwithstanding, he feared imprisonment, fled, was taken at Goldingen, claimed by the Pope's Nuncio, sent to Vienna, and thence to Rome; where he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the Inquisition.

Borri made abjuration of his errors on the last Sunday of October, 1672, in the church of the Minerva, with the usual parade. Unlike Molinos, he showed extreme terror, and fainted twice during the ceremony. He was, indeed, conveyed to the prison, there to remain for life; but the penalty was mitigated. The Duke D'Etrées, French ambassador at Rome, brother of the Cardinal who betrayed Molinos, had heard of this man's eminence as a physician, and obtained leave for him to come out of the prison to attend himself. His treatment being successful, the ambassador engaged the Inquisitors to let their prisoner be transferred to the Castle of St. Angelo, where his custody was so very easy, that he pretended to be a *lodger*, not a prisoner. He might be seen in the Queen of Sweden's carriage, visiting Her Majesty, and walking about the city with guards. He was indulged with a convenient suite of apartments in the Castle, consisting of three rooms and a laboratory, and the Cardinal Cibò made no difficulty of giving notes of admission to those who wished to visit him. In August, 1695, this person died, seventy-nine years of age, without any suspicion of poison, or mark of infamy. The truth is that, although guilty of the wildest heresy, he merited favour as an advocate of the Pope's supremacy, "Catholic unity," and the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. These teachings were taken to extenuate the

guilt of heresy on other points, with sedition, swindling, and licentiousness. The Holy Office is not second to the Company of Jesus in casuistic power of weighing merits against demerits, always trimming the balance of justice with a convenient discretion.\*

There has been comparatively little to say of the Sicilian Inquisition. Three *Autos-de-Fé* are recorded as having taken place at Palermo. At the first, in 1640, a Calvinist, a relapsed Mussulman, and a visionary, were burnt at the stake. At the second, in 1658, an Augustine friar, who had slain an insulting familiar in a fit of passion, underwent the horrid fate. At the third and last celebration, in 1724, an Augustine friar and a Benedictine nun, Suor Geltrudes, (a *pinzóchera*, or house-nun,) were the sufferers. On the same occasion twenty-six persons who escaped being relaxed to the secular arm, were reconciled to the Holy Office by being sentenced to be whipped through the town with gags on their mouths, to be kept to hard labour, or to stand in the pillory, according to the relative heinousness of their imputed crimes.† It has been reported that the expense of burning Sister Gertrude was recovered from her family by the payment of a yearly tax, continued until the present time; but the story, in itself incredible, is contradicted on competent authority.

\* Bayle's Critical Dictionary : *Borri*.

† Goodwin, *ut supra*.

## CHAPTER XL.

## ITALY: DECLINE AND RUIN.

WE may now survey the slow but inevitable decline of the Supreme and Universal Inquisition towards extinction. Two centuries, at least, have yet to pass, before the history closes, and during that period many crimes will be committed, and some murders; but the action of Inquisitors will be intermittent, and the incidents to be recorded will tend to show that amidst the social and religious changes of modern times that action becomes increasingly difficult. How far it is at all possible at the present time, is a question which we are almost ready to set at rest by pronouncing the hateful Institution to be extinct.

Resistance was made in all directions. The Venetian controversy, with the struggle between the Court of Rome and the King and clergy in France; the growing strength of Christianity in Europe and the world; the advance of constitutional principles in legislation and government; in short, the concurrent influences which have led to the great events of our own day, weakened the agencies, and contracted the operations, of the Holy Office.

Castelvetro, the reader will remember, was released from imprisonment in Venice, on the request of the British ambassador, in 1612. In 1662 two devoted Quakeresses, truly Christian ladies, were brought safely to England in a British ship of war, after four years' imprisonment in Malta, then under the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The Inquisitor there seems to have had the use of cells in a common prison in Valletta, where his victims were incarcerated. Those ladies, *Catherine Evans* and *Sarah Cheevers*, were thrown into

a dark and close dungeon, where they must soon have perished, if a physician had not certified that it was impossible for them to live in such a place much longer. Their skin became dry as parchment, the hair fell from their heads, in consequence of extreme heat ; while the stench, with stinging of mosquitos, and an exhausted atmosphere, induced as trying a torture as if they had been racked. Through all their sufferings they endured as seeing Him who is invisible, and never ceased to commune with God in prayer, and to preach Christ to their inexorable tormentors. If they had been taken in Rome instead of Malta, it is not likely that they would have escaped with life ; but the Grand Masters did in some degree restrain the ecclesiastical authorities, in jealousy of whatever might derogate from their own sovereignty in the island. Other escapes might be related.

The history of Freemasonry, trifling as it may seem, would throw considerable light on the conflict now begun between this secret society of the Church of Rome, and other societies, also secret, fighting against it in the deepest recesses of civilized society.

Universal dissatisfaction with the absolutism of the Continental Governments encouraged the spread of secret societies, which were spoken of under the general designation of "Masonic lodges," and which appear to have been, in reality, political clubs. The Inquisition undertook to disperse those lodges ; and some of the "brethren" who suffered persecution in Spain and Portugal favoured the world with narratives of their experience in the audience-chambers and the cells. Freemasonry entered Italy, it is said, at Florence ; and there, as in other countries, was forbidden by the Government ; and Clement XII., reasonably jealous of another secret society in opposition to his own, published a condemnatory Bull, (A.D. 1738,) and, in the year following, the Cardinal-Vicar of Rome issued an edict denouncing capital punishment of all Freemasons detected within the Papal State. Such an edict could scarcely be committed to the Inquisitors for execution without causing many deaths.

A newly-constituted society, ramified throughout Europe, everywhere professing to be established for purposes of mutual

benevolence, and sometimes numbering with its members persons of high station, who sought admission for the sake of becoming privy to proceedings that could not otherwise be known, and perhaps in hope of preventing conspiracies against themselves, could not fail to acquire considerable influence. It would be difficult for the same man to be a familiar, and a free and accepted Mason, and keep both secrets. And such a confederation could not be assailed, as it was, without bringing upon the assailants in *their* lodges inquisitorial, provincial and supreme, a certain return of hatred and of well-concerted vengeance. Control of religion, science, and politics, control of the ruling powers, and control or extirpation of revolutionary hosts, was now attempted by the Holy Office; but it was all too much. Endeavouring to compass an impossibility, it was to lose all. The Inquisitors had desperately thrown themselves into a stream of political partisanship, which, swelling into a torrent, swept them from their footing in every land beyond the territory of the Church.

Hoping to strengthen their cause in Naples, where there was enough of ignorance, wickedness, and civil despotism to encourage them, they proposed to establish a Tribunal in that city, where such an establishment had hitherto been resisted. The Archbishops of Naples did their best to forward the project there. The priests were pleased at the thought of having so effective an instrument of oppression as good as in their own hands, instead of having to send away their heretics to Rome for treatment. The King was not unwilling to have such an instrument of terror at his service in Naples as well as in Madrid. The Archbishops had already begun, without formal sanction, a little Inquisition on their own responsibility, with a few consultants, a notary, and a prison. There was even a little marble slab in the wall, lettered SANTO UFFIZIO. The Archbishop now used his own seal, captured and imprisoned his suspects. Four condemned heretics were in the dungeons, and one of them had made a solemn abjuration, almost in public. Emboldened by the impunity of his predecessors, the present chief ventured to move more openly; and the Court of Naples, in alarm, maintained that his proceedings were contrary to

law. This was the question in 1746, when the people rallied round their superiors, and every one cried that the horrid Inquisition had risen up amongst them in reality, although at first without the name. A delegate, chosen by the inhabitants, went to the King, and represented that the laws were trampled on; and that for the royal favours bestowed from time immemorial on the Church, the clergy gave nothing but insult in return. Gladly assenting to the representation of the people, the King issued an edict annulling all the proceedings of the Archbishop-Inquisitor, and prohibiting the whole inquisitorial apparatus. To make sure of submission, he banished two canons,—zealous mediævalists,—and ordered that, for the future, the ecclesiastical court should proceed in the ordinary way, and communicate all their causes to the civil court; and, by several articles of this kind in the regal statute, he utterly nullified the power of the clergy over the persons of the laity.

The Court of Rome, having calculated on making the Neapolitan Inquisition their own, were greatly disappointed, and thought well to send Cardinal Landi, Archbishop of Benevento, a personage of high reputation for sagacity, to treat with the King for some modification of his edict. But he could advance no further than the city-gate. A few daring Neapolitans met his Eminence at the entrance, and coolly offered him the alternative,—to surrender his life, or to go back by the way he came. He went back, of course. The sagacity of the Cardinal was not less than the sagacity of the King. His Majesty avoided a rupture with Rome by levying on his subjects a free-will offering of 30,000 ducats, in consideration of his humanity in letting the Cardinal go, and forgiving the rudeness of the people, and putting down the Inquisition.\* The affair made a great noise, and did much good.

When the Empress Maria Theresa, in common with other sovereigns, abolished many dangerous ecclesiastical privileges, she required the Archbishop and the Inquisitor in Milan to refrain from vexatious prohibition of books. She saw that

\* *Muratori, Annali d'Italia, anno 1746.*



it was no less absurd than troublesome that good books were suppressed, while demoralizing and hurtful publications were allowed free circulation; and she desired that the Holy Office should cease from prohibitory censure. Archbishop and Inquisitor failing to satisfy so reasonable a desire, Her Majesty took the reins into her own hand, and commanded that the censorship of books should thenceforth be exercised by the magistrates alone.

About the same time (February 21st, 1769) the Duke of Parma published a decree, lamenting that a foreign tribunal, administered by aliens and monks, under the title of "Inquisition of the Holy Office," had been introduced into that state; declared that it belonged to him alone, as protector of religion and the Church, to provide for the conservation of sound doctrines; and ordained that, on the death of the Inquisitor of Parma, causes of faith should be brought to the bishops for decision, none other presuming to interfere therewith. But he promised to afford the bishops the aid of the secular arm when it became necessary to inflict capital punishment on heretics; and declared that, on the death of the Inquisitor, the inmates of the dungeons would be his own prisoners, subject to the ducal jurisdiction. This theory of royal right to put men to death for their conscience is bad enough; but, practically considered, the measure of the Duke of Parma was transitional; and Parma, like Venice and Milan, and all the other Italian provinces, except Rome, is now happily lost in *one Italy*, independent of Papal authority.

Similar measures were taken in Tuscany by the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo, and his ministers. The Tuscan Inquisition was eminently hateful, on account of iniquitous imprisonments, atrocious cruelties, and a censorship no longer to be suffered. Good and bad were alike the victims; and judgment was given rather for the profit of the Court of Rome than for the reformation of manners, or conservation of the faith. Every one declared it no longer tolerable. The Regency, during the minority of the Grand Duke, had appointed a civil delegate to examine books, without the intervention of an Inquisitor; and when the Inquisitors proceeded to exercise jurisdiction over "sinners against the

Holy Office," they were commanded to admit two lay assessors. Rome, always impatient of legal restraints, complained of persecution. Florence answered by producing facts to justify the necessity of strong and sovereign restraints, and at once deprived the Inquisitors of their *sbirri*, or familiars; and also abolished conventual prisons, which were, as a succession of Bulls has already been adduced to show, branches of the Inquisition in monasteries.\*

Ferdinand VI., King of the Two Sicilies, abolished the Sicilian Inquisition in the year 1782, declaring that it had been ever hateful to the people, disobedient to the sovereign, and hostile to the laws. His Majesty marked a confession of the Inquisitor-General, that "the inviolable Secret is the soul of the Inquisition;" and after showing that, under that confession, it could no longer be suffered without violation of reason and humanity, he decreed that it was for ever abolished and extinguished in that kingdom.† "The Viceroy Caraccioli entered the hall of the Holy Office in state, and ordered the prisoners to be set at liberty. The ill-gotten wealth of the Office was forfeited to the Crown. The iron cages containing human skulls were taken down, and split asunder, in order that every trace of the odious institution might be blotted out of memory. The archives were ordered to be burnt, and the ashes to be scattered to the wind. So strictly was this order enforced, that out of an immense mass of papers and parchments, but a single volume of records escaped the flames. This collection of manuscripts, still preserved in a private library in Palermo, contains the original acts of the Inquisition during the persecution of the Molinists or Quietists, between 1681 and 1700."‡

We now come to Rome again.

We saw how Napoleon Bonaparte dispersed the Spanish Inquisitors on his approach to Madrid in 1808. The French troops entered Rome in 1809; and, whatever mischief they otherwise did, performed an act of humanity in demolishing, at least in part, the prisons of the Inquisition. It is true

\* Botta, lib. xlvii.

† Cited in the *Discussion del Progetto del Decreto*, etc., p. 88.

‡ Goodwin, *ut supra*.

that when the Popes returned to Rome after the fall of Bonaparte, they revived the Inquisition in full form, if not in full force ; and that Leo XII. in 1825 had raised another set of prisons, equally numerous and substantial. While those prisons were in progress, the Congregation of Cardinals, with the Pope as their Prefect, carried on their constant business, sitting on the days appointed, just as their predecessors had done, when in the plenitude of power. It is also true that the ancient power is gone. For a third time, at least, the prisons of the Roman Inquisition were broken into after the flight of Pius IX. in 1849, when two prisoners were found there, an aged bishop and a nun. Many persons then in Rome reported the event ; but, instead of copying at second hand, I translate a letter addressed to myself by Signor Alessandro Gavazzi, formerly Chaplain-General to the Roman army, in reply to some questions I had put to him. Under date of March 20th, 1852, he writes thus :—

“MY DEAR SIR,

“IN answering your questions concerning the palace of the Inquisition in Rome, I should say that I can only give a few superficial and imperfect notes. So short was the time that it remained open to the public, so great the crowd of persons that pressed to catch a sight of it, and so intense the horror inspired by that accursed place, that I could not obtain a more exact and particular impression.

“I found no instruments of torture, for they were destroyed at the first French invasion, and because such instruments were not used afterwards by the modern Inquisition. I did, however, find in one of the prisons of the second court a furnace, and the remains of a woman’s dress. I shall never be able to believe that that furnace was used for the living, it not being in such a place, or of such a kind, as to be of service to them. Every thing, on the contrary, combines to persuade me that it was made use of for horrible deaths, and to consume the remains of victims of inquisitorial executions. Another object of horror I found between the great hall of judgment and the luxurious apartment of the chief jailer, (*Primo Custode*.) the Dominican friar who presides over this diabolical establishment. This was a deep trap, a shaft

opening into the vaults under the Inquisition. As soon as the so-called criminal had confessed his offence, the second keeper, who is always a Dominican friar, sent him to the Father Commissary to receive a relaxation of his punishment. With hope of pardon, the confessed culprit would go towards the apartment of the Holy Inquisitor; but, in the act of setting foot at its entrance, the trap opened, and the world of the living heard no more of him. I examined some of the earth found in the pit below this trap; it was a compost of common earth, rottenness, ashes, and human hair, fetid to the smell, and horrible to the sight and thought of the beholder.

“ But where popular fury reached its highest pitch was in the vaults of St. Pius V. I am anxious that you should note well that this Pope was canonized by the Roman Church especially for his zeal against heretics. I will now describe to you the manner how, and the place where, those Vicars of Jesus Christ handled the living members of Jesus Christ, and show you how they proceeded for their healing. You descend into the vaults by very narrow stairs. A narrow corridor leads you to the several cells, which, for smallness and for stench, are a hundred times more horrible than the dens of lions and tigers in the Colosseum.

“ Wandering in this labyrinth of most fearful prisons, which may be called ‘graves for the living,’ I came to a cell full of skeletons without skulls, buried in lime. The skulls, detached from the bodies, had been collected in a hamper by the first visitors. Whose were those skeletons? And why were they buried in that place and in that manner? I have heard some Popish ecclesiastics, trying to defend the Inquisition from the charge of having condemned its victims to a secret death, say that the palace of the Inquisition was built on a burial-ground belonging, *anciently*, to a hospital for pilgrims, and that the skeletons found were none other than those of pilgrims who had died in that hospital. But everything contradicts this Papistical defence. Suppose that there had been a cemetery there, it could not have had subterranean galleries and cells, laid out with so great regularity; and even if there had been such,—against all probability,—the remains of bodies would have been

removed on laying the foundations of the palace, to leave the space free for the subterranean part of the Inquisition. Besides, it is contrary to the use of common tombs to bury the dead by carrying them through a door at the side; for the mouth of the sepulchre is always at the top. And, again, it has never been the custom in Italy to bury the dead, singly, in quick-lime; but, in time of plague, the dead bodies have been usually laid in a grave until it was sufficiently full, and then quick-lime has been laid over them, to prevent pestilential exhalations, by hastening the decomposition of the infected corpses. This custom was continued some years ago in the cemeteries of Naples, and especially in the daily burial of the poor. Therefore the skeletons found in the Inquisition of Rome could not belong to persons who had died a natural death in a hospital; nor could any one, under such a supposition, explain the mystery of all the body being buried in lime, with exception of the head. It remains, then, beyond doubt, that the subterranean vault contained the victims of one of the many secret martyrdoms of the butcherly Tribunal. The following is a most probable opinion, if it be not rather the history of a fact.

“The condemned were immersed in a bath of slaked lime, gradually filled up to their necks. The lime, by little and little, enclosed the sufferers, or walled them up all alive. The torment was extreme, but slow. As the lime rose higher and higher, the respiration of the victims became more and more painful, because more difficult. So that what with the suffocation of the smoke, and the anguish of a compressed breathing, they died in a manner most horrible and desperate. Some time after their death, the heads would naturally separate from the bodies, and roll away into the hollows left by the shrinking of the lime. Any other explanation of the fact that may be attempted will be found improbable and unnatural.

“You may make any use of these notes of mine that you please, since I can warrant their truth. I wish that writers speaking of this infamous Tribunal of the Inquisition would derive their information from pure history, unmingled with romance; for so many and so great are the historical atrocities of the Inquisition, that they would more than suffice to

arouse the detestation of a thousand worlds. I know that the Popish impostor-priests go about saying that the Inquisition was never an ecclesiastical tribunal, but a laic. But you will have shown the contrary in your work ; and you may also add, in order to quite unmask those lying preachers, that the palace of the Inquisition of Rome is under the shadow of the palace of the Vatican ; that the keepers of the Inquisition at Rome are, to this day, Dominican friars ; and that the Prefect of the Inquisition at Rome is the Pope in person.

“ I have the honour to be

“ Your affectionate Servant,

“ ALESSANDRO GAVAZZI.”

One thing appears most clearly from this letter, which is that between the years 1825 and 1849 those deaths must have taken place within the palace of the Inquisition, whose traces were discovered in the depth of that shaft near the chamber of the Father-Commissary, and imbedded in lime in the subterranean cells. Comparing this account with that of Don Pascual Marin and other witnesses in Valencia, it is certain that the Inquisition has put its victims to death up to a very recent time, and that those judicial murders only cease when it becomes impossible to commit them.

The Roman Parliament which sat during the brief reign of the triumvirs, after the flight of Pius IX. to Naples, decreed the erection of a pillar opposite the palace of the Inquisition, to perpetuate the memory of the destruction of that “ nest of abominations ; ” but before that or any other monument could be raised, the French army besieged and took the city, and restored the Pope ; and with him came again the Holy Office, with its Congregation of Cardinals, and Congregation of the Index. Both these Congregations resumed their accustomed action. As for the former, it made at least one noted prisoner, Giacinto Achilli, who was thrown into one of the old prisons on the 29th of July, 1849 ; but the violence done to the building by the Romans having made it less secure as a place of custody, he was transferred to the Castle of St. Angelo, which had often been used for the incarceration of similar

delinquents, and there he lay in close confinement until the 19th of January, 1850; when the Emperor of the French, yielding to importunate appeals, gave such orders, that the French General in Rome caused Achilli to be assisted to escape, disguised as a soldier. In doing this the Emperor removed an occasion of present scandal; but, not going so far as his uncle, he left the authority of the Congregation of Cardinals undisputed. Indeed, the Commissary of the Holy Office was first consulted, and induced to give consent to the abduction of the prisoner, before even that was attempted by the French guardians of the Papacy. The victim was let go, and the outcry which resounded all over Europe was hushed without cost, and without compensation.

Nine years later Victor Emmanuel was made King of Italy; the greatest portion of the Papal States became part of the kingdom of united Italy; and as these pages pass through the press, the death-knell of the Inquisition tolls.

## APPENDIX.

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### THE CARTILLA, OR MANUAL.—(Page 74.)

I HAVE had in my possession the CARTILLA, or Manual of the Inquisition of Seville. Three days after the ratification of the Spanish Constitution of 1820 by Ferdinand VII., as soon as intelligence of the event could, by courier, reach the metropolis of Andalusia, the mob assembled before the palace of the Inquisition in that city, entered in, drove out the Inquisitors, and took possession of the building and all that was therein.\* The unexpected visitors caught those officials in the prosecution of their daily calling; and the volume I am now to describe, being the peculiar property of the Chief Inquisitor, was found in its place; and may therefore be regarded as the guide of inquisitorial practice, or at least as the standard of what they would wish their practice to be, on the morning of March 10th, 1820. One of the party who then entered laid hands on the book, before the Inquisitors could conceal it, and the same morning gave it to Mr. John Wetherell, an English merchant, who had long resided in Seville, and had himself been proceeded against for reading prohibited books or papers imported from England. Together with this book the Spaniard brought to Mr. Wetherell a bundle of papers, containing, among other *Causas*, one relating to himself. To Mr. Wetherell I am indebted for a perusal of the whole, and permission to make and publish an abstract of the Manual.

It is a thin Spanish quarto, bound in vellum, with the word "Cartilla" written with a pen on the back. It consists of four parcels, partly printed, partly manuscript. The paper has rough edges, or edges cut down to reduce it to the size required for insertion under the present covers. It consists of, first, a title-page: "Order of Proceeding in the Holy Office, compiled from Ancient and Modern Instructions by the Licentiate Pablo García, Secretary of His Majes-

\* They only found one prisoner, Ostolaza, Dean of Murcia, a political offender, afterwards shot by the mob in Valencia. In the reign of Ferdinand VII., the Inquisitions were little more than offices of police, auxiliary to the royal despotism.



ty's Council of the Holy General Inquisition. Commanded to be added by the most Illustrious Lord Cardinal Don Antonio Zapata, Protector of Spain, Inquisitor-General of the Kingdoms and Lordships of His Majesty, and of his Council of State. With an Alphabetical Index at the beginning, made by Gaspar Isidro de Arguello, Senior Officer of the Council, for greater clearness and ready explanation of the form of conducting Causes of Faith. In the year 1628. With Licence of His Majesty's Council of the Holy General Inquisition." The date and place are lost from the foot of the page, but a few imperfect lines remain, indicating the words "*En la Imprenta de la Santa General Inquisicion*;" which show that, like other books intended for the use of the Inquisitors only, the printed portions were executed within the walls. The title-page is adorned with the arms of the Cardinal quartered with those of the Inquisition. The index follows on ten leaves.

After these are inserted thirty-four leaves of writing-paper, of which twenty-seven are written over in a large and fair hand, and seven remain blank. Then ten more leaves of writing-paper, nine written and one blank.

The "*Orden*," of which the title-page is described above, follows the manuscript parcels, complete from folio 1 to folio 78, making one hundred and fifty-five pages; altogether consisting of technical direction for conducting the business of the Holy Office, with the half-title on the first page of folio 1, thus:—

## ORDEN DE PROCESSAR en el Santo Oficio.

This Manual is for the use of all the Inquisitions in Spain; but as each chief provincial Inquisitor is a distinct President over his own province, one of them has used the broad margin to note, with his pen, the authorities for the practice to be used at Seville, adding also some observations of his own. The same hand wrote the little ten-leaf manuscript, and certified the first six pages and a half with his own rubric, or flourish, as directions extracted from the Cartilla of Sr. D. Miguel Lopez de Vitoria, who took them "from the Secret of the Inquisition of Sardinia," where a Fiscal named Moro had written them.

And lastly, nineteen printed pages of much later typography, perhaps of the last part of the eighteenth century. This is a mere *quaderno*, or official paper, uncut, and headed, on folio 1,—



# INSTRUC CION QUE HAN

DE GUARDAR LOS COMISSA  
rios del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion, en las  
Causas y Negocios de Fe y los Demas  
que se ofrezcan.

"Instruction which the Commissaries of the Holy Office of the Inquisition have to observe in the Causes and Affairs of Faith, and other Matters that may occur." The colophon at the end shows that it was printed, without date, by one Aciselo Cortès de Ribera Prieto, "Printer of the Holy Tribunal in Cordova." From these notes, and from the entire appearance of his *Cartilla*, it is, I think, demonstrable that it and the others like it consisted of documents printed or written and bound within the walls of Inquisitions. Indeed, regulations which would cease to be of any value if once known to others would not be exposed to the eyes of profane printers and bookbinders out of doors.\*

Now leaving all questions concerning the practice of the recent Inquisition, and saying nothing of Achilli's assertion that the *mor-dacchia*, or gag, was in his day used in Italy, and not repeating the names of Inquisitors whom he charges with having used it in Romagna and in Umbria in the reign of the last Pope, I cannot hesitate to believe that the book I am describing contains directions for torture, as well as for other operations which the Spanish Inquisitors carried on, or wished to carry on, so lately as the year 1820; and I therefore consider that the reader has, in our *Cartilla*, the practice of Inquisitors so late as 1820. In that persuasion I examine it.

The first manuscript opens with an "*Audiencia de Hacienda*," or "Examination concerning Property." Changed what must be changed,

\* Any who have read Dr. Achilli's "Dealings with the Inquisition" may remember that he speaks of a *Libro Nero*, or "Black Book," which he knew to be carefully preserved by the assessor of the Inquisition in Rome. The title, as he gives it, is "*Praxis Sacrae Romanae Inquisitionis*," and he says that it is manuscript. His account is in perfect agreement with what we learn from the Seville Manual.

in cases where confiscations have to be conducted, the fathers of this Sacred Tribunal were directed to ascertain what estates their victim possessed, where they were situate, and under what liabilities they were held. What moveables, and where to be found? What cattle? What credits, and what debits? What account-books, and what deeds? Slaves? How many, and what can they earn? Has he a farm? Has he prospect of heritage or reversion? Has he shares in any concern? Is he involved in any law-suit? Has he concealed any money, or given away any, or lent any? Had he dowry with his wife? Is he under any liabilities on her account? Has he any *proposals* to make to the tribunal concerning the disposal of his property?

Directions are given how to proceed when creditors of prisoners make demands on the fisc of the Inquisition; the Inquisitors being put on their guard against such disputatious folk as creditors, who, on such occasions, are found to be very prejudiced, and with whom it is necessary to deal very cautiously, that they may not cheat the fisc out of its *rights*.

The "*Orden de Processar*" begins with a form of writ to be issued to the Fiscal of the Inquisition, empowering him to commence action against the "criminal" whom he has denounced. Then come the oaths which are to be administered to witnesses, as well as criminals themselves, followed by a form of the promise they must make to keep secret all they see and hear. Next follow instructions to examiners, for keeping their registers, and for so conducting their examinations as most easily to criminate the persons accused, and as many others as possible, with whom the accused may have had correspondence, or of whom they can be made to give any intelligence. Forms are prescribed for issuing orders to the several officers for making arrests, seizures, committals, &c. These orders convey the most complete instruction for making sure of the person of the heretic, with his papers, and his property too, in case of sequestration.

At length the prisoner is supposed to appear in the hall of audience, and is put to his oath in order to close examination. He must disclose all he knows of his parents, his grandfathers, grandmothers, uncles, aunts, wife, children, and everything that can be got from him concerning his own history. He must cross himself, touch himself with holy water, say the *Paternoster*, the Hail Mary, the Creed, the *Salve Regina*, in Latin or in Romance, to show whether he can do it well or ill; and his manner of going through these recitations must be noted down.

He may have been abroad, or, haply, he is a foreigner, and he must tell whose acquaintance he has made; and here the Inquisitor

has written in the margin of the page: "This is of great importance<sup>\*</sup> in dealing with Portuguese; and we know by experience that they whom a Portuguese names are the very persons who appear afterwards as accomplices, and it facilitates conviction to have them named here."

Then come admonitions to be addressed to the person under examination, concerning what he may expect in this Holy Office, where—for so he must be told—the purest mercy and justice are administered. As for the relapsed, no offer of mercy may be made to any such an one; but they must exhort him to disburden his conscience by telling the truth; and, it being too late for mercy, they may offer him justice.

The manner of treating and recording various classes of cases is laid down; but I pass over the details of practice. All the characteristic abominations of the Inquisition, as already described under the head of "Laws and Customs," are found here without the least abatement. Concerning torture, however, I will translate in full, place within brackets what successive Inquisitors have added by their pens to the printed text of the *Cartilla*, and transfer their marginal manuscript notes to the margin of my own pages, in smaller type.

*"When torture has to be performed.*

"The criminal is brought in to the audience, all the Inquisitors and the Ordinary being present; he is told that it has been agreed, &c., and his answer is written down, and then

"He was told<sup>\*</sup> that he already knows that often and at various times he has been admonished to tell the truth entirely, concerning all that he has done, or said, or seen other persons do, or heard them say, in offence of God our Lord, and against His Holy Catholic Faith, the Evangelical Law which the Holy Mother Roman Catholic Church follows and teaches, especially concerning that which is testified and laid to his charge by this his process; which he has not chosen to do. And by the said process it is evident that he keeps back and hides many things, especially *such* and *such*,† [declaring to him that wherein he is diminute, or deficient, and why he is put to the torment, whether it be for things that he has done or said, or for his intention to do such things, or in case that he denies this, or for concealing accomplices.] And, for greater justification, it has

<sup>\*</sup> The past tense prevails in the *Cartilla*, the text being intended as the model of record for notaries or secretaries.

† When the Inquisitor has underscored with his pen the printed text of the *Cartilla*, the correspondent word of the translation is here printed in italics.

been commanded to bring him to this audience, in order to admonish him again, as now he is admonished, in the name of God our Lord, and of His glorious and blessed Mother our Lady the Virgin Mary, to tell and entirely confess the truth, concerning that which is known from witnesses, and all besides that he has done, heard, or seen other persons do or say in offence of our Holy Catholic Faith, without hiding anything that relates to himself or them, and not bearing false witness either against himself or any other, because by this confession he will acquit his conscience as a faithful Christian, and there shall be used with him that mercy which may have place where justice shall not be done.

"The criminal will answer as he chooses, and, being negative, let him be told,—

"He was told that he must know that his process has been seen by persons of learning and right consciences, to whom it has appeared that he should be put to question of torment, in order that he may tell the truth. *If, when this is said, he confesses anything, he must ratify it after twenty-four hours, as if he had said it in the torment.*

"In the monition, [as has been said,] the things in which he is diminute should be declared to him, and why he is ordered to be tormented, because, afterwards, in the torment nothing more should be said to him *than that he tell the truth.*

"If the torment is given him *in caput alienum*,—on account of another,—the monition only is made to him, giving him to understand *how from his process it results that he knows of other persons, &c.*, and that he keeps it back and hides it, *and it must not be said to him that he should speak of himself, neither in the monition, nor in the discourse of torment:* *Torment in caput alienum.* He has to be told that it is not given him on his own account. because he is held to be convicted; *and in questioning him against himself, there might arise a doubt of this, if he cleared himself of any indications, as it happened in a certain cause of this kind.\**

In the first manuscript of the Sevillian Cartilla, which is evidently the last written, there are some directions for administering torture that strikingly exhibit the cold-heartedness of those tormentors. They occur in two places: under the heading of "*Audiencia de Tormento*," and as notes of one Sr. Brabo on the word "*Tormentos*." In each place there is written in the margin, "*No se practica*,"—"not

\* By revision and repeal of a sentence that even the Inquisitors would now acknowledge not to have been justified by their own rules, a life would be saved. But the only thing to be saved now is the idea that their own sentence is immutable, even though the innocent perishes.

*practised.*" Perhaps not. Perhaps it was then thought expedient to suspend the practice of torture, if it were only for the difficulty of getting Spaniards to act as tormentors, or to find medical men willing to render their professional service in chambers of torment. We can easily believe that this became impracticable, or at least dangerous, in Spain, while as yet it might be quite possible to continue the hateful practice in the Papal States. In both these countries much depends, at any time, on the political feeling then prevalent. But the political feeling prevalent at any time, as well as the temperature of public confidence, or servility, or dread, or hope and fear, or servility and fear, strangely varies. And let me further observe that the note "*No se practica*" is very significant of a mere suspension of the practice. Any one who is familiar with Spanish as a living language knows that an abolition of torture would have been marked, at the very least, by such a sentence as this, *No se practica mas*, or, *Ya no se practica*. But the Judge of this Inquisition did not write any such words. He did not say that torture was *no longer* used. He made no allusion to any act of the Supreme Council of Spain, or of the Roman Congregation, for its abolition, nor has the world a proof of any such an act. He merely notes that at the time present it is not practised. Still the same *Cartilla* serves: still care is taken to write fairly and keep on hand copious instructions for the operation; and thus we ascertain the will of the Inquisitors, whatever be, or be not, their deed. The manuscript amplifications are these:—

*"Audience of Torment.*

"He (or she) was told, &c." [as in the printed form, with the addition of "himself" or "herself"] and accomplices.

"He (or she) said, &c.

"And then the Lords Inquisitors and the Ordinary, having seen that the said N\* was negative, pronounce a sentence of the tenor following.

"*Christi nomine invocato.*" ("The name of Christ being invoked.")

"Which same sentence the said Lords Inquisitors gave and pronounced on this said day, month, and year, being in the Hall of Audience of this Holy Office, the said woman N. being present, to whom it was notified, and she said, &c."

Here we insert the printed form of such a sentence.

\* — *la dicha N.* This refers to a woman, which is remarkable in a model register. The occurrence of the feminine gender here can only be accounted for on the supposition that one complete case of torture of a female had been selected as the model.

*"Christi nomine invocato."*

"We pronounce, after considering the acts and merits of the said process, the indications and suspicions that result from it against the said ———, that we ought to condemn him, and we do condemn him to be put to question of torment, [some declare whether it is to be by pulleys, or by water, and cords, &c.,] in which we command that he be and remain for so long time as may appear well to us, that in it he may tell the truth concerning what is witnessed and laid in charge against him, *with a protestation* which we make, that if, in the said torment, he should die or be wounded, or if there be any effusion of blood or mutilation of member, the blame and charge must be his, not ours, because he would not tell the truth. And by this our sentence we do pronounce and command in these writings, and by them. The Judges have to mark or sign it."

Sentence of Torment. Let it be written on a separate sheet, as, if the criminal confesses anything, it will not be exhibited (to the Supreme). Being loose, it is laid aside, when it falls like the accusation (in the like event).

If the criminal *appeals* from the sentence of torment, observe what the *Instructions* 50 and 51 direct.

The manuscript proceeds :—

"And on this she was ordered to be taken to the Chamber of Torment, whither went the said Lords Inquisitors; and when they were there, she was admonished to tell the truth, and not let herself be brought into  
And was taken down at such an hour.  
so great trouble. She said, &c.

"She was told to tell the truth, or the Executors of Justice would be called in. She said, &c.

"Charles Philip, Executor of Justice, was called in, &c., and his oath was taken that he would do his business well and faithfully, and that he would keep the Secret; all which he promised.

"She was told to tell the truth, or orders would be given to strip her. She said, &c. She was commanded to be stripped naked.

"She was told to tell the truth, or orders would be given to cut off her hair. She said, &c.

"Orders were given to cut off her hair; and when it was taken off, she was examined by the doctor and surgeon, who said that there was not any objection to her being put to the torture.

"She was told to tell the truth, or she would be commanded to mount the rack.  
You must say at what o'clock she went on.  
She said, &c.

"She was commanded to mount, and she said, &c.

"She was told to tell the truth, or her body should be bound. She said, &c. She was ordered to be bound.

"She was told to tell the truth, or, if not, they would order her right foot to be made fast for the *trampazo*.\* She said, &c. They commanded it to be made fast.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would command her left foot to be made fast for the *trampazo*. She said, &c. They commanded it to be made fast. She said, &c. It was ordered to be done.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the binding of the right arm to be stretched. She said, &c. It was commanded to be done. And the same with the left arm. It was ordered to be executed.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the fleshy part of her right arm to be made fast for the *garrote*.† She said, &c. It was ordered to be made fast.

"And by the said Lord Inquisitor it was repeated to her many times that she should tell the truth, and not let herself be brought into so great torment; and the physician and surgeon were called in, who said, &c. And the criminal, &c. And orders were given to make it fast.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the first turn of *mancuerda*.‡ She said, &c. It was commanded to be done.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would command the *garrote* to be applied again to the right arm. She said, &c. It was ordered to be done.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the second turn of *mancuerda*. She said, &c. It was commanded to be done.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the *garrote* to be applied again to the left arm. She said, &c. It was ordered to be done.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the third turn of *mancuerda*. She said, &c. It was commanded to be done.

"She was told to tell the truth, or they would order the *trampazo*

\* "TRAMPAZO. La ultima de las vueltas que se dan en el tormento de las cuerdas. Lat., *Tortura ultima contorsio*." (Dictionary of the Spanish Academy.) The word means an extreme tightening of the cords.

† "GARROTE. La ligadura que se da con cuerdas mas delgadas en brazos ó muslos, comprimiendo la carne de ellos: y suele usarse para hacer volver de accidentes violentos que privan el sentido. Lat. *Funibus astrictio*." Compression of the fleshy parts of the arms or thighs with finer cords. It is used to recover them from violent fainting-fits. (Dictionary, &c.)

‡ MANCUERDA is the simultaneous tension of all the cords, both on the legs and arms, by the application of a single, but powerful, force.



to be laid on the right foot. She said, &c. It was commanded to be done.

"For women you do not go beyond this." \*

\* \* \* \* \*

"He was told to tell the truth, or they would command the fourth turn of *mancuerda*=="

The notes of Brabo on the word **TORMENT** are very full. I will translate the greater part of them; enough, I think, to satisfy my readers. Brabo writes:—

"I have sometimes seen that when a criminal is incapable of undergoing torture in one of his arms, or in all the body, on account of old age, or infirmity, the Inquisitors have hesitated to vote the torture, and wished to proceed to give him a definitive sentence. But I have not agreed to this when the state of the cause and the law require it; for there are other parts on which torture may be applied when the criminal is on the rack, such as the *other* arm, and the legs. For even when torture is impossible, there are trials which they may be made to undergo, and which it is not well to omit, and they are these:—

Not in practice.

"1. The criminal is brought before the Tribunal, and receives the monition.

"2. The sentence of torment is pronounced.

"3. They take him down to the chamber of torments.

"4. They command him to be stripped.

"5. They command him to be laid on the rack, and he is laid on.

"6. He is threatened, and commanded to be bound.

"When he is in this state, the physician and surgeon come in, and declare whether he may be bound, and in what parts, and whether they may give him tortures, and in what parts. And when they absolutely say that he cannot be bound nor tortured, even then it is well not to have omitted the above, for all that may be done without coming to bindings, or turns of the cord, which is impracticable. And perhaps they may confess at the monition, at the command to go down into the chamber, or when they are ordered to be stripped, or to be laid on the rack, or at the intimation that the order will be given to bind them. But this hope, and the chance of getting a confession, is lost by wanting to manage the matter with a view to the end only, while the means which may be employed without actually coming to the end, (torture,) which cannot be attempted, ought not to be omitted.

"Three examples I have observed in Toledo and Cuenca, in which

\* How admirably tender are these guardians of the faith in handling their female patients!

two confessed without going down to the chamber, and one before being stripped.

"In the title 41 of torments, the following numbers of *Acord*.\*

"11. Great care should be taken in giving torture to criminate another party, that the proofs obtained against third persons be not diminished; and if the matter is well proved, there is no reason why. Council in Valladolid, July 20th, 1538. At Cuenca. *Note*. Look to the thirds; and if it be proved against them, there is no reason to put the witness to the torture, when the witness is not also guilty.

"15. That the hours or days that a person has to be under torture be not inserted in the sentences, nor yet voted, but that it be put in the ordinary form, *ad arbitrium*. Council in Madrid, March 22, 1536. *Note*. And this will not be an arbitrary or *ad arbitrium* torment, but a torment regulated beforehand according to *arbitrium*, or pleasure, and therefore this pleasure ought not to be restricted. And accordingly the Council is accustomed to say (for example) *in conspectu*, or *hasta trizarle*,† or a turn of *mancuerda*. And also the Inquisitors may vote according to the ages of the criminals, and merits of the causes; but the torture does not thereby cease to be *ad arbitrium*, notwithstanding this letter. And it is just that it be not put in the sentence, that the criminal may not know it; but it may be so written in the vote, as there is no inconvenience in this, and it is so done. It should be considered how far it is legal to produce what is written in a sentence, but this may be remedied by inserting it in the form of an award.

"16. Neither in sentences of torture to criminate another party, nor in other acts relating to torture, let there be any mention of the offences committed by the criminal. Council in Valladolid, 7th July, 1523. At Toledo.

"In a Consultation of the Council of the Tribunal of Valladolid on May 20th, 1659, by the Señores Dn. Miguel de Victoria, Dn. Sancho de Douza, and Dn. Diego Sarmiento, it is contained: That it appears to the first, that as, against the criminals, [the case is of some that were voted to the torture, which was executed; and then these causes were brought into consultation, and by common agreement it was determined that the infliction of torture *ad arbitrium* should be repeated on them; and when the execution of it came to be

\* I omit numbers 12, 13, 14, which are very technical. *Acord*. denotes *cartas*, or *consultas*, *acordadas*; that is to say, letters or decisions of a superior tribunal, communicated for his guidance to the proper officer in an inferior court. It here refers to instructions from the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Madrid.

† *Hasta trizarle* must mean, until the flesh be broken, or slashed.

treated of, a doubt arose whether the monitions, of which they already had knowledge, ought to be read again to these criminals, inasmuch as they had been read to them the first time, and sentence of torture had been pronounced in form,] there has not arisen any new testification after the first torture, there is no occasion to read to them again the first monition; and that so, in this case, it is all one to say that the torture is repeated, or that it is continued; wherefore sentence ought not to be pronounced, but they should be taken to the chamber, &c.

“And the said Señores Douza and Sarmiento think that the difference of the words ‘repeat’ and ‘continue’ ought to be made up, as is inferred from the *Cartilla*, folio 30; and to repeat without the occurrence of any new indications, it is necessary to take into account all the merits, and to measure them with the degrees of torture already executed. If, however, the indications are of higher stature than the degrees of torture, the sentence of new torture, which is called a Repetition, is legitimate and strictly just, since it is entirely different from a Continuation on account of the offence which had been at first perceived. That in a Continuation the monition is not read again, nor sentence given, but in a Repetition both are done; because, in the former case, as all the torture necessary was not executed, there is no need that from one act to another much time should pass; but it is not so in a Repetition, because, as all that was possible was executed, both according to the indications and according to the strength of the criminal, and both the act was, for the time, complete, and the criminal put to pain, it is necessary for a Repetition that sufficient time should pass for the recovery of his health.

“But as crimes of Judaism ordinarily consist in various actions, and some of these actions very trifling, it is convenient that they be brought to the criminal's memory again by the monition, in order that in his confession he may fill up the evidence; and it is probable that when the monition is read, as he is then at liberty, without the distraction of torture, he may confess enough to render it unnecessary to proceed to the trouble of repeating it. And when it happens that torture is repeated on a criminal on account of new indications that arise,—which is also what is called Repetition,—on which account it is that torture is most frequently repeated, they think that not only the monition of what has newly arisen should be read, but also of what was indicated by the previous evidence, and of which, on the first occasion, he received monition when he denied it; in order that not only he may have the opportunity of confessing to the new charge, but also be reminded of the first antecedents, the facts of which, it may be presumed, he has forgotten: and that this uniting

the old indications with the new in the monition is necessary ; for otherwise he might think, when he is tormented again, only on account of charges newly arisen, that he had been purged, in the first torture, of those of the first monition ; and because the repetition of torture is not only on account of the occurrence of new suspicions, but also because the first torture was not sufficient to purge him from the first.

“ And that in the present case of the three criminals this question ceases, since Louis, in his torment, confessed the acts, but denied the intention ; and Balthasar also confessed the facts, and the accomplices, and many other things of which there had not been any evidence, and revoked his confession in the ratification : wherefore it is necessary in these two cases to repeat the torture in the same form, and the doubt alone remains in the case of the third criminal in this consultation.

“ The Señor Victoria thought that in this case the torture ought to be in continuation, because no new evidence had been produced.

“ That torture is used to be repeated without the occurrence of new indications, and so the said Señor Douza has practised in the two Tribunals he has served ; and it has been repeated even a third time, without the occurrence of any new indications ; and at the second and third times the trouble had been taken of reading the same monition, and pronouncing the same sentence : and this is founded in reason, because the continuation is executed on account of the torture not having failed by any accident to interrupt it, such as the fainting of the criminal, or seizure with convulsions in the torment-chamber, as often happens to women ; and that this is the case where the word ‘ continuation ’ is used, and not ‘ repetition,’ inasmuch as the act was not perfectly finished, and for this no new consultation is necessary, neither is there another vote, but it is continued after a conference of the Inquisitors and Ordinary, without previous reading of monitions, or pronouncing of sentence, or attendance of guardian when the criminal is a minor, since the act of judgment is yet pending ; while, on the contrary, for a Repetition it is necessary to come to a new judgment in a formal consultation, which makes the difference between continuing and repeating, as the *Cartilla* shows at folio 30.”

Returning now to the printed *Cartilla*, I have to notice some general directions, some Rubrics for this Liturgy of Tophet.

“ If, [after the sentence, and] before going to torment, the criminal confesses, his confession must be ratified after twenty-four hours have passed.

“ If the criminal is under age, *the guardian must be present at*

pronouncing sentence, in order *that he may appeal if he wishes*; but he must not be present at the performance of the torture."

The following will show how the "&c.," which recurs at every stage in the model case on pages 441-444, was to be represented in the record:—

*"All that the criminal says has to be set down, and the questions that were put to him, and his answers, without omitting anything, and how they ordered him to be stripped, and his arms to be bound, and the rounds of cord that are put on him, and how they ordered him to be placed on the rack, and how to bind his legs, head, and arms, and how he was bound, and how they ordered the garrotes to be put on, and how they were put on, and how compressed, declaring if it was on leg, thigh, or shin, or arms, &c., and what was said to him at each of these*

If the torture is of pulley, it must be entered how the irons were put; and the weight, or weights, and how he was hoisted, and how many times, and how long he was up each time. If it is of rack, it shall be said how the *toca*\* was put on him, and how many pitchers of water were thrown over him, and how much each contained.

*operations.* So that all that passes be written without leaving anything more to write; and when he confesses anything, he shall be asked *why he did not declare that before*; and whatever appears most necessary to understand how much credit may be given him in other matters.

"And then the said Lords Inquisitors and Ordinary said that, as it was late, and for other considerations, they suspended the said torment for the present, with protestations that they had not tormented him sufficiently, and that, if he would not tell the truth, they reserved it in their power to continue the torment whenever it should please them; and so he was ordered to be taken away, and was taken from the said torment, and carried to his prison. And this business was finished at o'clock, before, or after, mid-day; and, so far as it appeared, the said N. was sound, and without any skin broken."

The directions as to continuation or repetition are on this fol. 30 of the *Cartilla*, as referred to above on page 447.

Twenty-four hours having elapsed, the criminal is brought into the hall of audience, and, in presence of one Inquisitor at least, asked what he has remembered for confession. They now read to him what he said while in torment, and ask if there is anything that he wishes to add, retract, or alter. Then he is required to sign the confession, if such it was, or whatever else he said in the torment-chamber. Any further confession he may make must be ratified after twenty-four hours. Then, as to the pertinacious, "let it be observed that, as for those who are *pertinacious*, before determining their causes, there must be

\* *Toca*, a kind of cap, for confining the head.

made to them *three monitions*, at least, by theologians of science and conscience, in order to undeceive them, and endeavour to bring them to their senses : and so it shall be set down in the processes, all which shall be done in the audience-hall, the Inquisitors, or some of them, being present."

When every effort for the crimination of others, as well as of the prisoner himself, has been exhausted, the Inquisitors put a finishing hand to their work by consigning him to death. In order to this, there is prescribed the following

" FORM OF SENTENCE.

" Seen by us, the Inquisitors against heretical pravity and apostasy in                      and its neighbourhood by                      Care must be taken that, Apostolical authority, together with the                      in the sentences, the causes Ordinary of the said diocese of                      and reasons that the criminal gives on which he rests for a process of criminal suit which before us                      maintaining those errors be not produced, nor those which the heretics give, nor anything else which offends the ears of Catholics, or that is, has pended and pends between parties, the                      or may be, an occasion that by it they be taught, or that one being the Proctor Fiscal of the Holy                      they learn any of those things, Office, prosecutor, and the other the                      or come to doubt of anything. criminal                      And this should be well looked into and considered, because of                      it is affirmed that some have been taught by hearing those sentences,                      defendant, inhabitant of                      And by reason that the said Proctor Fiscal appeared before us, and presented his accusation, and what by it is prayed, and after the merits of the process, on to its conclusion, and having had of our own accord deliberation with persons of letters and right conscience."

The sentence to be pronounced, "*Christi nomine invocato*," is very long, and contains the usual injunction addressed to the civil authorities : "— and that we ought to relax, and we do relax the person of the said                      to the secular justice and arm, especially to                      Corregidor of this city, and his lieutenant in the said office ; whom we pray and charge very affectionately, as we by right best can, to deal kindly and piously with him."

I must now hasten through this Manual, only extracting a few passages characteristic of the institution of which I am treating, and illustrative of statements made in the course of my history.

The form of abjuration to be made by a "reconciled" penitent whom the severities of discipline have brought back to the bosom of the Church, contains the following very stringent pledges :—

"And I confess that all they who oppose the Holy Catholic Faith are worthy of condemnation ; and I promise that I will never unite

*with them, and that, so far as in me lies, I will persecute them, and the heresies of theirs of which I may have any knowledge* This does much against him that is afterwards an abettor and impeder.

*I will reveal and make known to any Inquisitor of heretical pravity* and prelate of the Holy Church, wherever I may be. And I desire and consent, and it pleases me that, if at any time, which may God forbid, I act contrary to the things abovesaid, or against any one thing or part of them, that in such case I be had and held for an impenitent relapsed, and submit myself to the correction and severity of the Sacred Canons, that on me, as a person found guilty of the said crime of heresy, the sentences and penalties contained in them be executed, &c." The doom of an impenitent relapsed is death, as is at once expressed.

"He was cautioned to consider well what he had abjured; because if, failing so to do, he falls again into any heresy, *he incurs the penalty of one relapsed, and shall be delivered over to the secular arm without any mercy; and the same if he does not keep what is contained in his sentence.*" After this caution he is abjured in form.

All persons dismissed from the prisons of the Holy Office are compelled to swear that they will keep secret all that has passed in their own case, and all that they have seen, known, heard, and understood in any way. Those who are delivered to the flames may be indulged with exemption from this oath, since death will close their lips.

Nothing more appears that would add to the statements already made in the present volume, in Chapters V., VI., VII., on Laws and Customs, until we come to directions for

#### "AN AUTO GENERAL.

"A Notary of the Secret, having the Cross carried before him, must say in a loud voice:—

"Lift all your hands, and each one say, *I swear to God and to Holy Mary*, and to this sign of the Cross, and to the words of the Holy Gospels, that I will be in favour, defence, and help of the Holy Catholic Faith, and of the Holy Inquisition, its officers and ministers, and will make manifest and discover all and whatsoever heretics, abettors, defenders, and concealers of them, disturbers and impeters of the said Holy Office; and that I will not give them favour or help, nor screen them, but, as soon as I know it, will make it known, and declare it to the said Lords Inquisitors; and if I do the contrary, may God call me to account, as He would him who knowingly commits perjury. Let all say, Amen."\*

\* Although not so said, it is evident that this ceremony takes place in an assemblage of the civil authorities of a city or province.

“ Form of the Oath which the Corregidores, and Regidores, and all other officers whatever of cities, towns, and places, where there is an office of the Holy Inquisition, take.

“ ‘ We Corregidor of the city of and its Lieutenant, and and Regidores, and and Alguazils, by admonition and command of the Lords Inquisitors who reside in the said city, as true Christians, and obedient to the commandments of the Holy Mother Church, promise and swear by these Holy Gospels, and the true Cross which we have before our eyes, and touch with our hands, that we will keep the Holy Catholic Faith which the Holy Mother Church of Rome keeps and preaches, and that we will make all persons whatsoever who are subject to our jurisdiction hold and keep it, and will defend it with all our might against all persons who may attempt to impugn and contradict it, in such manner that we will persecute all heretics, and their believers, and their favourers, and defenders, and will take them and command them to be taken, and will accuse and denounce them before the Holy Mother Church, and before the said Lords Inquisitors, we being their ministers, if we have any knowledge of such persons.

“ ‘ Also we swear and promise that we will not commit nor give in charge our lieutenancies, appointments to the office of alguazil, or other public offices of any kind that may be, to any of the said persons, nor to any others to whom it may be forbidden or imposed in penance by your Graces, or by any other Inquisitors whatever that have resided in this Holy Office, or in any other, nor to any persons whom the law, by reason of the said crime, forbids it; and if they already have such offices, I will not allow them to use them, but will punish and chastise them according to the laws of these kingdoms.

“ ‘ Also we swear and promise that we will guard all the preeminencies, privileges, exemptions, and immunities, given and granted to you, the said *Lords Inquisitors*, and to all other officers, ministers, and familiars of the said Holy Office; and we will make all other persons guard them.

“ ‘ Also we swear and promise that whenever by you the said Lords Inquisitors, or any one of you, we shall be *commanded to execute any sentence or sentences against any person or persons of the abovesaid*, we will do and fulfil it without any delay, according to the Sacred Canons and Laws that speak in such a case, and in the manner that they direct; and that as well in the abovesaid as in all other things that shall pertain to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, we will be obedient to God and to the Roman Church, and to you



the said Lords Inquisitors, and to your successors, to the utmost of our power: so may God help us, and these holy four Gospels which with our own hands we touch; and if we do the contrary, may God call us to account for it, as bad Christians who perjure themselves knowingly. Amen.'"

In the first manuscript there are forms for the examination of Protestants and Renegades to Mohammedanism, who spontaneously present themselves for reconciliation to the Church of Rome. These examinations are characterized by inquisitiveness rather than severity towards those who return. The Inquisitor sets his heart on getting as much information as possible concerning the doctrines and practices of the Protestant "sect" at that moment represented in the person of the penitent. There is a note that the interrogations as to Protestants may be prolonged as far as the examiner sees good; and lest one pattern should not be suitable, a second is provided. If the returning penitent is a Spanish Protestant,

"He is asked whether he knows in these kingdoms of Spain if there are any who follow the said sect of his, or any other sect contrary to our holy Catholic Faith, or who teach it to others, or who have books, or if he himself has any books belonging to that sect of his, or to any other. He said, &c."

The information thus obtained is forwarded to Madrid, there to be made full use of; and any who are caught by means of this volunteer "penitent" may be sure that, however the informer may be pampered, for them there will be no mercy.

The last six and a half pages of the "*Orden de Processar*" contain directions for examining papers that are seized, in order to ascertain whether they contain heretical propositions, or whether such propositions may by inference be drawn from them.

The Instruction for Commissaries of the Inquisition of Cordova relates to their particular duties. The Inquisitors of Seville made no use of it. It is clean, not soiled by use, and bears internal evidence of having been framed at a time when the civil power was not so deeply servile as the Council of the Supreme would have it in the year 1628.

Under PRISIONES, or "Arrests," there is a manifestation of great caution, and solicitude for secrecy.

"The commissary cannot make arrests without special orders of the Tribunal, although he may have received full information of the offence. And only in case that there is fear of the escape or absence of the criminal, or if he is on a journey, or for other like cause, may the commissary call on the corregidor or alcalde, and tell him that it is for the service of God that, under some pretext, so that the Holy

Office be not seen in the affair, he should make sure of the person and property of the criminal, until further orders."

It is intimated that the civil judge should find occasion for subjecting the person arrested to examination on questions not relating to the faith, and that he should be kept in close custody, without the least communication with any other person.

"When they" (the commissaries) "make arrests by order of the Tribunal, they shall endeavour to effect them without stir, and with all the quiet and secrecy possible; for although they cannot be unobserved, it gives more reverence to their proceedings if they be not known as ministers of the Holy Office; besides that, by virtue of the oath which they have made, they cannot say they are. And if different persons are arrested, they shall place them separately in houses of ministers" (of the Inquisition), "where they cannot have communication with one another, nor have opportunity for writing to any one. And if there are no houses of ministers, or if the commissary has not confidence in any of them, he may place them in houses that he can trust, although they be not those of ministers."

Thence they must be transferred to the secret prisons of the Inquisition; and the Instruction tells the commissaries that, in every case, that familiar should be employed to whose number the service falls, without making any excuse; and says that it looks very bad that those who are not ministers offer their services with pleasure, and are thankful to serve the Holy Office, while those who ought to do it by force of duty excuse themselves.

And further:—

"It is very desirable that the business of the Holy Office be dispatched without noise or vainglory; and therefore the commissaries are commanded to inform the familiars that when they bring the said criminals to the prisons, they must endeavour to set out and to enter towns under the closest disguise, and, if possible, by night, or in the morning; and when they come to Cordova, they are commanded to enter the city at such hours; with a warning given them in the name of the Tribunal that this caution is of so great importance, that, if they do not observe it, proceedings will be taken against themselves."

And last of all:—

"The commissary shall recommend and command the persons who bear witness, or who call witnesses, or who take any part whatsoever in these affairs, to keep the same secret." "The commissary, in order to preserve the Secret, shall have a very good place of safe keeping for his papers, under lock and key, in such a manner that no person may see them. And, with regard to letters, when he receives

letters from the Tribunal, he must return thither the originals, with an answer stating what he has done."

One may see how the hand inquisitorial trembled. And well might it tremble. It drops the keys. The safe keeping is at an end. The secrets of the prison-house have come to light, and this *Cartilla* is among them.

A paragraph appended to the Cordovese Instruction requires "that a mass be said by each minister to whom this *Cartilla* shall be delivered, on behalf of the Lords Inquisitors" (deceased) "and other defunct ministers of this Tribunal" of Cordova. Well might masses be said for men who departed under such heavy loads of guilt, if the suffrages of the faithful—as they say—could avail for their deliverance from dungeons even deeper and darker than their own.

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*Technical words are printed in Italics.*

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